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SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, AUGUST 1987

23000362 a East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 8, Aug 87 (signed to press 15 Jul 87) pp 674, 767

[Summary of article by Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, 1st Secretary of the SED Magdeburg bezirk administration; pp 681-687. A full translation of this article, entitled "SED Progress, Honecker's Utterances Reviewed," is published in this report]

[Text] The Revolutionary Theory and Practice of Our Successful Progress

The compendium entitled "Revolutionary Theory and Historic Experiences in SED Policy" and volume 11 of Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Essays" attest to the most successful phase thus far in the GDR's social development. They document in various ways the elaboration and implementation of the SED's Marxist-Leninist policy, aimed at the well-being of man and the safeguarding of peace, and place into focus that its activity embodies the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Reinhold Miller, research director at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 688-695]

[Text] A Challenge to Morality and Ethics

Ethical-moral questions of human conduct have received a new place value in our time. Why is that so? From which assured Marxist-Leninist positions are we confronting the new problems, how do we approach their solutions in our country? What tasks result from that for ethics research in the GDR?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Scheler, naval captain on the staff of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy in Dresden; pp 696-702. A full translation of this article, entitled "Relationship of Peace, Morality, Politics Examined," is published in this report]

[Text] Peace--The Highest Moral Imperative

The nuclear space age has pervasively altered the terms of struggle against war and for the defense of peace and set new standards for the moral evaluation of war and peace and for the appropriate moral conduct of all states, classes, strata, and individuals. Proceeding from there, moral aspects of the peaceful coexistence policy are examined and the moral importance and scope of socialist security policy are established.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Juergen Schmollack, deputy director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 703-707]

[Text] Politics and Morality in Our Society

What is the qualitative innovation in the relation between politics and morality in socialism? In what way do they affect each other as closely interlinked yet diverse forms of human activity and social awareness? Which experiences of the morality forming effectiveness in our socialist policy must management activity address to steadily deepen further the working people's political-moral identification with our party and government policy?

[Summary of article by economist Kurt Koopmann, party organizer of the SED Central Committee in the VEB "Carl von Ossietzky" electronic components Combine, Teltow; and Dr Karl-Heinz Thieme, lecturer at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy in the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 708-712]

[Text] Modern Technologies as a High Moral Demand

By way of experiences of the "Carl von Ossietzky" parent plant of the electronic components Combine, Teltow, it is being shown and explained which new moral demands are made on the working people in the development and introduction of key technologies to further develop moral modes of conduct appropriate to modern technological requirements and to socialism.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Scholz, director of the Institute for Education at the GDR Pedagogical Sciences Academy and member of the GDR Pedagogical Sciences Academy; pp 713-719]

[Text] Education and Morality in Preparing Youth for Life

An optimum shaping of the gifts and abilities of each child in preparation for life implies that the dispensation and acquisition of theoretical and moral knowledge are linked with social experiences the adolescents acquire and work out while solving tasks posed deliberately for moral decisions, that they learn early on to assume responsibility for the commonwealth and for themselves.

[Summary of article by Manfred Feist, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's Foreign Information Department; pp 720-725. A full translation of this article, entitled "Peace Movement Status Quo Surveyed," is published in this report]

[Text] Fresh Momentum in the Worldwide Movement for Peace and Disarmament

Much is now in flux because of the aggressive approach by the USSR and the socialist community to the questions of ensuring peace; clear changes in the world's public opinion and a tremendous upswing in the worldwide peace struggle attest to that. Today's peace movement is marked by some particulars and specifics, traced in detail in the present article.

[Summary of article by Maj Gen Werner Huebner, PhD, director of the SED Central Committee's Department for Socialist Military Education; pp 726-732. A full translation of this article, entitled "Warsaw Pact Military Doctrine Explicated," is published in this report]

[Text] The Military Doctrine of Peace

The Warsaw Pact military doctrine documents the seriousness of the peace and disarmament initiatives in our alliance and its defensive character. Its conclusions of principle drawn from the realities of the nuclear age and its orientation to disarmament and a reciprocal renunciation of force demand a clear answer from NATO as to its abiding by the doctrine of "deterrence and a first nuclear strike." The socialist states are proposing to compare the military doctrines of the two alliances and to make sure jointly that they are based on defense principles.

[Summary of article by Dr Hans Modrow, member of the SED Central Committee, first secretary of the SED Dresden bezirk organization; pp 733-738. A full translation of this article, entitled "Technological Advancements' Political Effect Noted," is published in this report]

[Text] Key Technologies--Proving Themselves Politically on the Main Battleground

Also in Dresden Bezirk the communists pay special attention to a speed-up in the development and broad application of the key technologies. What demands does this process of the most modern productive forces development make on the party organization's political leadership activity? What encourages creativity toward top achievements in science and technology? How is the use of the new technology being prepared with the working people?

[Summary of article by Dr Wolfgang Jacob, SED Central Committee candidate, general director of the VEB electrical machinery plants "Friedrich Ebert" Combine, Berlin-Treptow; and Dr Jutta Stamms, department chief in the same combine; pp 739-744]

[Text] Individual Management and the Working People's Creative Initiative

With reference to the example of the VEB electrical machinery plants combine it is being shown how a general director works with his management collective, how he influences managerial-collective relations, and how he deals with them to achieve high innovation rates, fashion innovation processes in a complex manner, use labor resources prudently, and aim technical and technological innovations from the outset at high efficiency through holding down material, costs, and time.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Martin Kelm, State Secretary, director of the Office for Industrial Design; pp 745-748]

[Text] Scientific-technical Progress and Design

Normal life is marked more and more by products of technology. So it is all the more important to fashion products and environmental givens in conformity with human requirements, with purpose and beautifully. Which consequences result from that--especially in view of the increasing rate of the scientific-technical revolution--for machine and plant design and for the broad range of consumer goods? The increasing economic weight of design.

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GORBACHEV DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL LAUDED

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[Article by Ernst Krabatsch, director of the Main Department for Basic Questions and Planning in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "The Chance for Real Disarmament Measures"]

[Text] "For the first time since the end of World War II the chance presents itself now to accomplish an entry into disarmament and, hence, further steps toward arms limitation and reduction of all sorts. The key to it is an accord on eliminating American and Soviet nuclear intermediate-range missiles in Europe." (Footnote 1) (Erich Honecker, "Onward with the Strength of Everyone for Securing Peace and the People's Well-being," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 June 87, p 1). These words from Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, describe the situation accurately. It amounts to the start of and breakthrough to genuine disarmament.

The USSR has paved the way for it with its realistic and reasonable proposals and far-reaching compromises. The United States has been taken by its word. The double-zero solution, the complete elimination of the Soviet and U.S. medium-range rockets of larger (1,000 to 5,500 km) and smaller (500 to 1,000 km) range in Europe has assumed tangible feasibility. As previous international accords limited the arms buildup, now for the first time an already installed highly modern nuclear weapons system of the two superpowers would be dismantled and scrapped. Thereby, above all, the practical proof would be provided that it is truly possible to accomplish more security and trust through political accords and treaties. It would be an encouragement for the peace movement and all realistic forces. It would be a visible sign for that the struggle of the worldwide coalition of reason and realism can turn international development in a new direction, that its struggle for disarmament and permanent peace makes sense and bears fruit, that it is future-bearing. That is all the more important at a time when the most aggressive forces of, especially U.S., imperialism already believed they had with their NATO rocket resolution and its implementation irrevocably marked developments by their confrontation and arms-buildup course.

The elimination of U.S. and USSR medium-range missiles from Europe would break the ominous chain of armament and arms-buildup pushed forward by imperialism in an area decisive especially for our continent. The risk to world peace and international security that comes from such nuclear first-strike weapons as Pershing II would be turned back. It would also generate a thrust toward reducing other nuclear weapons--the strategic offensive systems and also the tactical nuclear weapons including the nuclear battlefield weapons. On all these systems the socialist states have provided concrete feasible proposals. The strategic USSR and U.S. offensive weapons--provided the United States renounces an arms race in space--are to be reduced by 50 percent and finally eliminated altogether. For the tactical nuclear weapons the Budapest Appeal from the Warsaw Pact states in June 1986 already presented a program for drastically reducing them together with the conventional weapons between the Atlantic and the Urals.

The double-zero solution also would provide a new dimension to the proposal from the GDR and CSSR governments to the FRG government on setting up a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Central Europe. This idea--conceived as an approach to reducing nuclear confrontation by disengaging the nuclear potentials in Central Europe--could, in connection with the double-zero solution, lead to the next and most important step: to setting up a zone in which the capability for conducting military offensive operations--both nuclear and conventional--would be significantly diminished. The "Principles for a Nuclear-free Corridor in Central Europe," developed by a joint SED-SPD task force and ratified by the SED Central Committee and the SPD Presidium, already contain the suggestion not to settle for confining the corridor to 150 km each on both sides between the two alliances, but to expand it subsequently to all of Central Europe.

Hence, through their proposals the socialist states have presciently paved the way toward disarmament and its purposeful continuation. Ultimately the deep meaning lies not in gaining short-term security and stability, which might again evaporate through an arms race in other fields with no less horrifying weapons. Rather, it amounts to a permanent turn to better things. As a whole category of nuclear weapons would be eliminated, there is the objective necessity to prevent it being made up for by other weapons systems. An accord on nuclear medium-range missiles therefore must as securely as possible close all channels for subverting the agreements concluded through armament changes--such as turning the longer medium-range rockets into some of a shorter range by launching steps that can rapidly be reversed or by developing novel systems, in third states perhaps. U.S. efforts, particularly, aimed at that are right now still a major problem in the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva.

Also for all other disarmament areas a zero solution would provide valuable experiences which would in turn facilitate further agreements. The method of asymmetric reductions while strictly abiding by the principle of equality and equal security would be worked out in detail in such an agreement and then applied in practice. An absolutely reliable control mechanism would be installed--at the rockets' disassembly and destruction sites as on testing grounds, military bases (even in third countries), in training centers, camps, as in governmental and private production plants. This too is in the truest

sense of the word a breakthrough toward forming trust while of benefit for further disarmament negotiations.

The desired zero solution also would provide significant political impulses for the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Pact states and NATO and among all European states. It would help evolve a favorable political climate for further steps in detente, which also positively affects the course of other multilateral negotiations, including the follow-up Vienna meeting, where one is working right now on a mandate for future conventional disarmament negotiations for Europe.

With it, the zero solution would vividly document how antiquated the NATO doctrine of "flexible reaction," of the nuclear first strike, and of the "decapitation of the enemy" is, which produces none but a search for military superiority and a new arms race. Granted, even within NATO more and more politicians say on occasion that a nuclear war is not winnable and must not be engaged in. The socialist states do not talk of new thinking in international relations; they act accordingly. They assume that peace can no longer, and certainly not solely, be ensured by military, but ultimately only by political means. They have drawn their practical inferences from that. That includes their disarmament program that entails all types of weapons with the strictest control measures as much as the principles of socialist military doctrine submitted to the public at the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee.

Dismantling a whole category of modern nuclear weapons thus would have an exceedingly great effect on all areas of the struggle for halting the arms race and for effective disarmament. The most aggressive forces in the NATO states, the main representatives of the military-industrial complex, who are making extraordinary profits by always again producing new weapons systems, as well as many political and ideological proponents of imperialist confrontation policy, have landed in bad distress since their lie about the threat, their highly touted anticommunist and anti-Soviet enemy image convinces less and less. The "justifications" by Western European rightists for setting up a "European Missile Defense System" supplementing the U.S. SDI concept tend to crumble to pieces, for even the most sophisticated "arguments" cannot prove that against missiles that no longer exist a "defense system" is needed.

It is only too understandable that the forces that have tied their fate to the arms race are irritated. They can hardly hide their displeasure over the perspective of nuclear disarmament in Europe and are seeking chances to circumvent a treaty and tricks to legitimize further rearmament. They are warning against an alleged "Moscow trap," against the USSR's "great advantages" in conventional weapons or operational-tactical rockets, and are mounting new obstacles such as the demand to spare the U.S. nuclear warheads for the missiles of type Pershing 1-A the Bundeswehr has, whereas all Soviet operational-tactical missiles in Europe are to be destroyed. That is their traditional game of "armaments control"--a game to gain time and mislead the public.

What is most valuable, however, is time for joint solutions. Yet it passes fast. For that reason, what matters now particularly is assisting the breakthrough to genuine disarmament by more strongly yet mobilizing the world public. The Politburo report to the 4th SED Central Committee session says: "The pressure from the broad people's masses must not abate, not even when things seem to make headway at the negotiating table. Without shaking up and keeping awake the conscience of the world the negotiations will not lead to success." (Footnote 2) (Comrade Horst Dohls, "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 12).

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SED PROGRESS, HONECKER'S UTTERANCES REVIEWED

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[Article by Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. 1st Secretary of the SED Magdeburg bezirk administration: "The Revolutionary Theory and Practice of Our Successful Progress"]

Text] A decade and a half surely does not mark a long stretch in the life of a people. Yet history is gaged by the weight, the consequence of social processes completed within a period, by what has been accomplished for the people. Dietz publishing house has just come out with volumes written by Comrade Erich Honecker which document this for the most recent developmental phase of the GDR initiated by the 8th SED Congress. The studies from between 1971 and 1987 that were selected for the compendium and the speeches and essays from between June 1985 and June 1986 illuminate essentials of this so very productive stretch of our revolutionary advance: the historic motivations and factors and impulses for shaping the developed socialist society, for our policy of strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace.

This our Marxist-Leninist SED policy, proven in life--the acid test for all theory--is inseparable from Erich Honecker. Both volumes illustrate the outstanding contribution the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council has been making within the party leadership collective to elaborating and implementing our sound scientific social strategy and to the creative further development of our policy as it serves the well-being of the people. They grant deep insights into his creditable endeavors as an outstanding party leader and internationally respected statesman, on whose 75th birthday on 25 August the communists and working people in our country and friends and fellow-combatants from all over the world conveyed their appreciation and respect, their cordial regards and good wishes.

The reliable compass for revolutionary advances is Marxism-Leninism, which the SED in conformity with Marx, Engels, and Lenin "regards not as a collection of rigid formulas, but as a vivid guide for action. In its activity the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice is embodied." (Compendium, p 11). How resolutely our party conforms to this statement of principle made by Erich Honecker in preparation for the 8th party congress,

to this maxim of its policy in conformity with the concrete conditions of the struggle, and to its national and international responsibility—all that is documented by these publications and proven by our social reality.

A Qualitatively New Social Developmental Phase

Through the 8th SED Congress resolutions the foundation was laid for the most successful developmental phase in our country's history. In conformity with the meaning of socialism to do everything for the well-being of man, the happiness of the people, the interests of the working class and all working people—these words in our program became the guideline for the purposive and deliberate conduct of millions. The clear course, the main task policy with its unified economic and social policies, "was the outcome of fully turning toward the masses, combined with an ever broader spread of socialist democracy." (Compendium, p 650). The results of working people creativity, produced by its resolute implementation, the working people making this course their own and implementing it actively, created the prerequisites for mightily bringing to effect the advantages of socialist society with man occupying its center. In a comprehensive sense this conforms with the Marxist-Leninist principle: "The more accurately policy grasps the interests of the working people and the more effectively it serves them, and the better people understand them, the more powerfully flows the mass initiative." (Compendium, p 66).

The qualitatively new developmental phase the 8th party congress initiated placed higher demands on the management and planning of all public domains—mainly on the political leadership of these complex processes by the party. Especially in this decisive field the volumes document the unity of creative theory and practice. Remember, above all, that already in 1971 the conversion of the economy to intensification and the close connection of science with production had been started. Thereby a dynamic economic development was introduced in our country and has been steadily ensured since. The socialist production relations were purposefully further developed, and the management and planning processes were changed and perfected in accordance with developing conditions. Today we can survey the whole scope of these decisions, measures and steps. The productive forces development accompanied by a considerable boost in labor productivity, the ever more effective linkage between the advantages of socialism and the scientific-technical revolution, and the productive total balance our 11th party congress was able to come up with would be inconceivable without the development initiated by the 8th party congress resolutions and the SED's creative Marxist-Leninist policy.

This policy—according to our party program—is aimed at planned an high-level development of all advantages, values, and impulses, all sides and domains of public life: the productive forces and production relations, the social and political connections, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions, as well as socialist national defense. A reader of these volumes comprehends how our party meets its grown leadership role in this historic process of pervasive political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes and what matters above all in our party work: a higher fighting strength of the party

collectives and of the massive effectiveness of their political-ideological work; the responsibility each communist bears as a pioneer of the innovations for implementing party resolutions and planning projects--the consolidation and deepening of the relationship of trust between the party and the people as the fundamental condition for the political stability and economic dynamics of our state, and further successes in the struggle for socialism and peace.

Peace--Humanity's Supreme Good

Proceeding from the evidence first theoretically established by Marx, Engels and Lenin and corroborated in practice since the Great Socialist October Revolution, for that socialism and peace are one, Erich Honecker offers a concrete analysis of the concrete situation and leads to the realization: The risk to human existence from the confrontation and arms buildup course of the most aggressive imperialist circles calls for a new approach to solving the questions of mankind's survival. It is today more necessary than ever for the survival of humanity that all forces of peace, reason, and realism, all who want disarmament and collaboration instead of an arms buildup and confrontation advocate the prevention of the danger of a nuclear world conflagration.

These publications focus on how our party and our socialist state, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, resolutely exert themselves in "not surrendering the world to an atomic inferno. Today's and future generations, mothers and fathers, children and children's children shall live without fear of another world war. They shall live in peace." (Compendium, p 449). Wherever and when Comrade Erich Honecker takes a stand on this important vital question, with passion and authority--his personal dedication to the defense and implementation of the primary human right is impressive and exemplary.

The German workers and farmers state acts in conformity with its historic obligation to do everything so that never again will war emanate from German soil, but peace only. In April 1983, in his speech at the SED Central Committee's International Science Conference, "Karl Marx and Our Time--the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," Erich Honecker called it a precept of the hour "that all political and social forces that sincerely want peace, irrespective of diverse political programs, ideological positions, and religious persuasions, work together across class lines and separations, to spare the peoples the catastrophe of nuclear war. This does not abolish the divergencies. The defense of peace as humanity's supreme good is the priority, common and unifying interest." (Compendium, pp 437-438).

The international activities of our party and state, determined by that stance, especially the responsible efforts of their top representative, his commitment to the policy of outcome-oriented dialogue and of the cooperation of all forces of peace, reason, and realism, have provided the GDR with its constructive advocacy of peace and disarmament high worldwide respect.

The guideline from the 7th SED Central Committee session in November 1983, right after the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, in accordance with the requirements for the nuclear space age, to conduct "all the more now," as Erich Honecker put it, an active peace policy, whereby to live up to the demands of the situation in the heart of Europe as to our historic commitment, has met the tests of a tempestuous age. With this foreign and security policy, confirmed by the 11th party congress as a long-term strategy, the GDR has shared importantly in the peace offensive of the Warsaw Pact states and in promoting a new approach worldwide to resolving the international problems. In this struggle we hold out our "hand to all who, like us, want to use any, even the slightest, chance so that the globe can live in peace and the heaven are not turned into a vestibule of hell." Erich Honecker said at an election rally in June 1986 in Karl-Marx-Stadt. "Our great ideal is and remains a world without wars, without weapons and without violence, and solving all controversial international questions by way of negotiations. A world it shall be in which each people can freely decide on its own development and the states of differing social orders not only exist peacefully side by side, but also get along well with one another." (Vol. 11, p 444).

The responsible and initiative-rich efforts of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries are committed to that ideal. Socialism will--as documented recently at the Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states--pave the way for the peoples into a world freed from nuclear and other mass destruction weapons. From socialism evolves the initiative for eliminating intermediate-range missiles in Europe and radical disarmament steps for other nuclear weapons as well, for chemical weapons, armed forces, and conventional arms in Europe.

As Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the conference with the kreis first secretaries in February this year, our country confronts with all its strength the bitter struggle for solving the main problem of our time: to prevent the decline of mankind and ensure permanent peace. In further successfully shaping the developed socialist society for the benefit of the people, the GDR, as a solid cornerstone of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe, helps consolidate socialism's total potential.

Our Main Battlefield

The struggle for preserving peace organically connects with the strengthening of socialism. At the 11th SED Congress Comrade Erich Honecker was in the position to say that through the policy aimed at peace and the people's well-being results had been achieved with profound impact on our society's life all-around, and he corroborated: "Our main battlefield is the unity of economic and social policy." (Vol. 11, p 345). This policy has stood up in more than a decade and a half as the solid foundation for our country's political stability and economic dynamics and for the firm bond between party and people. With the implementation of the 11th party congress resolutions, the successful development is being carried on, and the unity of economic and social policy, derived from the meaning of socialism, as the core of our party's economic strategy with a view to the year 2000, again acts as a strong motor for social

progress. Dynamic production growth and its effectiveness go hand in hand with full employment, increasing prosperity, high education for all, flourishing science and culture.

Especially the studies in the compendium illuminate with how much consistency the approach of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy has been taken since 1971, how much of a challenge this is and has been to the party's management activity, creativeness, fighting strength, and mass solidarity and, above all, how thereby the advantages, values, and impulses of socialism have been brought to effect ever more efficiently. The experiences and results achieved throughout this period also confirm us in our certitude that through this course we shall cross assuredly the threshold into the next millenium.

Inseparably from it, there are explained here the nature, objectives and requirements for enforcing our party's economic strategy--the concept of our economic growth by way of intensification. To reach our high and far-flung goals, we mainly must make the sources of science flow ever more abundantly for our economic capacity, for social wealth and progress. The basis for it is a broad, economically effective utilization of the scientific-technical revolution and combining it with the advantages of socialism.

The future of our country must of necessity be based on science and technology, Erich Honecker asserts. For that reason we must "still more than in the past link science with production, and production with science. That applies particularly to coping with the key technologies." (Vol 11, p 345).

Elaborating our economic strategy is a result of the creative application of the insights of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism to our country's concrete historic developmental conditions and the exercise of our party's leadership role in the concrete analysis and determination of the most important tasks in overall social development. The basic process that determines both the essence and the long-range character of our economic strategy is our intensification, resulting from the objective developmental conditions of our socialist economy. That was already reflected in our party program, issued by the 9th party congress, was ratified by the 10th party congress, and was extended creatively by the 11th party congress in becoming the basis for a more precisely formulated economic strategy.

"As facts confirm, we succeeded by means of our economic strategy in converting to comprehensive production intensification and introducing a pervasive production upgrading process. At significant sectors, the GDR has kept in step with the increasing international rate of the scientific-technical revolution and itself reached top positions." (Vol. 11, p 345). The broad application of modern key technologies like microelectronics, flexible automation, and the introduction of CAD/CAM techniques made it possible, above all, to keep boosting labor productivity fast which--as Lenin remarked--ultimately is decisive for the triumph of the new social order.

Our country's successful development now and in the future depends on its well functioning socialist planned economy system, the fashioning of which is determined by the main task course with its unified economic and social policies.

The combines constitute the backbone of our efficient, dynamic, and flexible socialist planned economy. They are the major strength for coping with the scientific-technical revolution the great intellectual and material potentials of which we will have to use ever more effectively.

In this sense, as one gathers from Erich Honecker's speeches and essays, we are purposefully perfecting the management, planning, and effective accountancy as based on new requirements, thereby using ever better the advantages of the socialist planned economy, coping better with the increasing interlinkages in our highly developed economy, and meeting in every respect the challenges of our time. A proven principle here is to connect more effectively still the central state management and planning--relying on the democratic participation by all working people--with the economic units' and territorial own responsibility and creative initiative.

For all that we never forget that with all the attention needed for science, techniques, and technology, what matters most always is man, his needs and interests, and the well-being of the people. Scientific-technical progress--both volumes point that out emphatically--is and remains the decisive foundation for improving the working and living conditions, for increasing the citizens' need satisfaction. "In this field the decisions are made on the rate of growth in labor productivity; on them depends how our economy can meet men's needs or the various domestic requirements for our country's development and can stand up in the world." (Vol 11, p 364).

Firmly and Fraternally Allied with the Soviet Union

The inshakable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the close friendly collaboration within the socialist community, Comrade Erich Honecker pays tribute to and describes as a vital condition for successfully shaping the developed socialist society in our country. Unforgotten is the Soviet Army's glorious victory over Hitler fascism, which opened the way to a happy future also for our people. The GDR "is fraternally allied with the Soviet Union for all time, and in this alliance lies the stable foundation for its steady, dynamic advances. Firmly anchored within the community of socialist states, the GDR is making its energetic contribution to strengthening the international positions of socialism and to the defense and preservation of peace." (Vol 11, p 412).

Observing the legacy of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and Ernst Thaelmann, for us German communists the alliance with the Soviet Union has always been a matter of principle regarding the class point of view, and the attitude toward the Soviet Union, the criterion for the allegiance to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, a touchstone for every revolutionary. Mindful of this principle the SED has always acted, turning its 11th party congress into a demonstration for the irrevocable fighting community and fraternal solidarity of both parties, states, and peoples. As Erich Honecker writes in this connection, the SED leadership and the CPSU delegation headed by Mikhail Gorbachev "jointly came to the realization that the 11th SED Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress demonstrated the full agreement of views and positions between our two parties in the basic questions of socialist and

communist construction, our foreign policy, and the solidity of our fraternal alliance. Tribute was paid to our all-round collaboration; to deepen it further, steps were agreed on. Without this close cooperation among all fraternal countries and without raising its level by entire magnitudes, the complicated tasks our time presents us with cannot be resolved." (Vol 11, p 414).

The inspiring and mobilizing capacity for coping with these tasks in the dynamic development of cooperation among the countries in the socialist community comes from the close fighting alliance of the fraternal parties based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Ensuring a stable, dynamic economic and social development in all socialist countries based on the most modern accomplishments of scientific-technical progress is of the greatest political, economic, and strategic consequence today for the further advances and for boosting the radiating strength of socialism. This makes it necessary for all fraternal parties to seek the most suitable forms and methods of economic management that would conform to the general inevitabilities as well as the concrete conditions of the country, in that, after all, "the construction of socialism is a steady process of the creative search for optimum solutions conforming to national conditions and hence also making a difference in the international arena." (Compendium, p 649).

In view of the complicated international situation it becomes ever more apparent how important the development and expansion of relations and cooperation among all countries in the socialist world system are. It meets the interests of each of them and serves to consolidate the positions of socialism at a global scale and to preserve peace.

Historic Experiences--Power Source for Successful Advances

In many of his studies, Comrade Erich Honecker combines the treatment of basic problems in Marxist-Leninist theory and their application in SED policy with an analysis of historic experiences, especially of the revolutionary workers' movement, and draws lessons from it for the ongoing and future struggle. A reader gets questions answered on the historic process, the goals and ideals of the revolutionary struggle fought for for generations, or the basic lines of our policy leading beyond today into the future.

Comprehending and dealing with history is a necessary, indispensable component of the political, theoretical and practical activity, of the implementation of its leadership role in each phase of its revolutionary activities. Historic events and anniversaries are not principally commemorative celebrations; instead, knowledge and strength are to be derived from them for coping with current and future social developmental processes. Examples of it are Erich Honecker's speeches at the celebrations of the 30th and 35th anniversaries of the GDR and also, especially, the tribute he pays to the birth of the workers and farmers state on German soil, marking a turning point in the history of the German people and of Europe: "Risen from the ruins of World War II, from the material and spiritual chaos of the early postwar period, the GDR managed to take its place among the ten strongest industrial nations in the world. It has a highly productive agriculture. Its socialist educational system proves

to be modern and very productive, which has done much for its reputation among our country's citizens and, not last, beyond our borders. Science and culture are developing with success and are performing their valuable services to men's well-being. Had Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels lived to see this, no matter how imperfect our work still is, it is still in being, after all, they surely would have said: You have done well, what you have done is worthy of our Manifesto, the Communist Manifesto." (Compendium, p 502).

These speeches and essays are documents of our party's successful Marxist-Leninist leadership activity. The principles of SED strategy and tactics and of GDR domestic and foreign policy are elaborated in them and the course and goal are staked out for the advances of socialist society, in which all that happens accrues to the well-being of the people, the happiness of working men. High respect for the creators of the new society, confidence in the people's strength, a Leninist working style, objectivity and comradeship, as emitted by Erich Honecker—that marks the activity and the life of our party. It all strengthens the close relationship of trust between party and people and enables us to cope with the tasks ahead of us and, in the future also, meet the tests of history.

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RELATIONSHIP OF PEACE, MORALITY, POLITICS EXAMINED

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[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Scheler, naval captain on the staff of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy in Dresden: "Peace--the Highest Moral Imperative"]

[Text] In the nuclear space age, securing peace has become the basic prerequisite for the survival and progress of all mankind. Peace is the peoples' supreme good, the most precious to be preserved. Hence it is the highest moral precept in our time to avert the threatening danger of nuclear annihilation--conjured up by the policy of the most aggressive imperialist forces that is aimed at arms buildup, confrontation, and world domination--and to provide peace with a secure foundation. There is no higher obligation than protecting this singular human life from atomic destruction. The responsibility of the living today is of a historic consequence as no previous generation has been burdened with in all of human history.

World Conscience Responsive to the Most Important Cause

The responsibility for the continuation and future of human society deeply stirs millions of people on all the continents on the earth. Never yet before has there been such an awakening of the world's conscience on behalf of peace. It is targeted against those imperialist forces that have by no means given up their policy of confrontation, arms buildup, and seeking military superiority. The world's conscience is rising against the amoral philosophy of strength in a world that has become too fragile for wars and military violence. It defies the NATO doctrine of nuclear deterrence and a nuclear first strike because that pushes the arms buildup ahead and conjures up the danger of a nuclear inferno. As never before, in our time men's moral concepts and sentiments are marked by the contradiction between war and peace, culminating today in the question of to be or not to be for mankind. That cannot be otherwise because morality is one of the forms of consciousness through which men practically and spiritually appropriate reality and become aware of and come to grips with the contradictions in their societal existence.¹ For that reason has the struggle for safeguarding peace today become also a moral challenge of the first rank for all classes and strata.

In the consciousness of the broad masses particularly, the moral concepts and value judgments on war and peace, rearmament and disarmament, threat and defense play an outstanding role. They emphatically affect the corresponding political and philosophic-ideological opinions and practical conduct. In the contest between peace-loving mankind and the small stratum of the especially aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism, gambling with humanity's interests, moral value judgments, views, and modes of conduct therefore are of great importance in that, after all, there emanates an effect from morality that activates and mobilizes the people's search for a peaceful future.

More and more the responsible, consistent, and flexible peace policy of socialism and its approach to the questions of war and peace receive moral recognition and support from the peace-loving people who are guided by reason and realism. The states of the socialist community with their political thought conform to the new situation generated in the nuclear space age; through their peace offensive they take account of the realities of this era, as expressed in their foreign and security policy. The new approach to international relations, as developed by the Marxist-Leninist parties in the fraternal socialist countries, captures also the ideas, values, and conclusions put forth by all other social forces through the resistance of the world's conscience against the danger of nuclear annihilation. It serves the practical and spiritual struggle of all forces of peace and reason to work together across class barriers and division, regardless of diverse programs, ideological positions, and religious creeds, to save humanity from doom.

This new political approach, actively made to break through by socialism and its peace policy, has to be enforced worldwide. New moral demands and views result from it that conform to the requirement of our age to secure the survival and progress of humanity in that the infernal descent of the arms race is stopped, real disarmament is brought about, and an international security system is erected no longer relying on military strength but--without ignoring antagonisms--on the respect for the objectively existing common life and security interests.

Moral Evaluation of War and Peace

Of course, creating and permanently securing peace has always been an essential idea in working class morality. The struggle for peaceful international coexistence is inherent in the historic working class mission. To implement its goals, the working class never sought war. Socialism and peace are identical because, after all, there is not one class or social group in the socialist order that would profit from armament and war or would threaten other peoples. Thus, from the outset the workers class had been a champion of peace, the condemnation of war and the esteem for peace being part of proletarian and socialist morality. With the discovery, through historical materialism, of the social causation for war and peace, through the evidence showing war to be a product of the antagonistic class society, yet that socialist society needs and creates peace, Marx, Engels and Lenin provided the moral judgment on war and peace with a scientific premise. On that basis the moral condemnation of war and the appreciation of peace became a mighty moral impulse for historic action. From scientifically understanding war and

peace as forms of policy by reactionary but also progressive classes, one is bound to gain distinct moral evaluations of concrete wars and a given concrete peace. Accordingly, the Marxist-Leninists condemn all reactionary wars, imperialist wars, wars for suppressing other peoples, national or democratic liberation movements as unjust and rate those wars as just in which socialist and other states or peoples defend themselves against imperialist aggression and where the national independence and each people's right to self-determination are being defended. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, the resistance struggle by the peoples fascism attacked and suppressed, the heroic liberation and defensive wars by the Vietnamese and other peoples, and the anti-colonial liberation wars show that just wars are necessarily the reverse of aggressive wars and of the use of reactionary, oppressive violence. History has proven that socialism had to extract its peaceful existence against imperialist intervention and aggressive wars through just wars in defense of the socialist fatherland.

While under previous conditions--when the primary goal of the workers class to avoid war was not feasible--it was possible and correct to use the situation generated by imperialist war to carry out the socialist revolution, this holds true for today: "Nuclear war could not be transformed into the socialist revolution, into social progress. Achieving the political working class goals, rather, presupposes the preventing of nuclear war and the securing of world peace. This has become an indispensable element of the historic working class mission."²

The situation in the nuclear space age has profoundly altered the conditions of struggle against war and of the defense of peace. It sets new standards for morally evaluating war and peace. "In view of the mounting stockpiles of nuclear arsenals, war would no longer be a continuation of politics by different means, it would be the end of all politics, the destruction of humanity."³ The only moral evaluation nuclear war must be given, which it does indeed receive in the consciousness of all forces of reason, is its being outlawed, its unconditional condemnation as the worst crime against humanity.

For that reason one must also condemn as amoral to the highest degree the militaristic arms buildup policy which, under the false motto of "peace through strength" and with the dangerous anachronistic philosophy of nuclear deterrence, pushes the world against the ridge toward the abyss of a third world war. Stopping the dealers of death today determines the rise of the world's conscience, strengthening the will to self-preservation among all peoples and states, diverse classes and strata, and encouraging the merging of the forces of peace, reason, and realism. Nothing can be rated morally more highly today than incisive acts in prevention of a nuclear inferno, which also implies ensuring socialism's defense capability.

What Engels once wrote about morally judging historic facts is highly relevant to the evaluation of war in our days. "If the ethical mass consciousness declares an economic fact unjust, like slavery or bondage at the time, it proves that the fact itself has already become obsolete and that other economic facts have occurred that rendered it unbearable and untenable."⁴ If today the moral consciousness of millions of people pronounces as unjust

either nuclear war or the policy of the most reactionary imperialist forces that induces it, it is so because historically new economic and political factors have occurred. As there exists in the form of real socialism a society to which peace is inherent, there grows the mutual dependency of peoples and states in the world due to modern productive forces development. Above all, however, humanity would not survive atomic war. Those are facts on account of which pursuing political targets by means of war has become anachronistic, intolerable, reprehensible. The ethical awareness of it is the world historic expression for the historic obsolescence of war and the historic necessity for world peace.

Peace thereby obtains a new rank among moral ideals and values. In socialist morality, serving the struggle for the implementation of the historic working class mission, under these conditions the responsibility for the protection of human life, the accomplishments of social progress, and a peaceful future for all mankind is gaining the highest priority.

The objective interest in peace in our time, however, is also being newly evaluated in any other classes' given morality. "No class can pursue its specific interest without taking account of the central interest of mankind in survival--and that includes the monopoly bourgeoisie since it could not either survive a nuclear war."⁵ For all humanity, all classes and strata and nations and states peace is, objectively, the first-rank, overlapping interest that unifies above and beyond all contradictions. Hence in the peace issue there is only one moral stance dictated by interest: to become fully aware of the communality in the peace interest and its precedence over all specific interests and to seek common activities for establishing a permanent order of peace in a world marked by the class opposition and class struggle. "What matters today is to unite to salvage peace for mankind and set up a worldwide coalition of reason and realism against the atomic war danger. From whatever camp someone may come, whatever social system he may deem to be the better one, and whatever his ideological and political opinions may be about other questions, none of that must be an obstacle to a rational juxtaposition and coexistence among the states of differing social orders."⁶

Peaceful coexistence is in the atomic age not just a desirable, but the only acceptable--life preserving and humanistic--form of interstate relations among states with different social orders. Only through the struggle for implementing it can the contradiction be resolved on which in our era of transition from capitalism to socialism the survival of humanity depends--the contradiction between "the vital interests of the peoples and states on the one side and the goals aimed at confrontation, arms buildup, and world domination by a small group of especially aggressive and reactionary imperialist forces, on the other."⁷ Therein lies its high moral value. Peaceful coexistence requires and makes possible basing the relations between differing social systems on the reason and morality of fellowship and cooperation, of peaceful contest and pacific rivalry.

That is a reason and a morality recognizing the realities of our age, from which arises the obligation to bring differences and contrasts of interests to a peaceful solution by way of negotiations and renounce the use and threat of force in shaping international relations, banish enmity from the international arena, respect the peoples' right to self-determination and develop

cooperation in the economic, political, scientific-technical, and cultural fields.

The policy of threat and the cult of strength, which the most aggressive NATO forces still are holding on to, are incompatible with the reason and morality of security in the atomic age because security can no longer be obtained against but only with one another. In international relations it has become necessary to put an end to the "detaching of politics from the general human norms of morality."⁸ Real social conditions, forces, and movements are in place today to--as Marx put it--"bring to bear the plain moral and legal laws, meant to regulate the relations among private persons, as the supreme laws in the dealing of nations."⁹

Political ethics germane to peaceful coexistence contains moral views and relations of the partners of survival which in spite of opposing social positions are mutually acceptable. Their general acceptance is due to the fact that in them the class interests and moral value ideas of all the social forces engaged in peaceful coexistence are respected and their common interest in peace is expressed. These are views and relations which, due to the specific role of morality, have much to do with bringing about and reinforcing the needed agreement on the conditions under which the conflict over opposing interests can in civilized and humane forms be addressed. Therein lies the significance of the peace forces' common moral views and their endeavors to bring them into effect practically in international relations. They establish the "moral-psychological peace guarantees"¹⁰ that are needed along with the material and political-legal ones.

The relations between peace and military might thus becomes the focal point in moral evaluation. Peace through the force of arms, that is arms buildup and the deterrence doctrine, or peace through ever fewer weapons based on common security--those are the positions confronting each other today. The old traditional mode of thinking, the legacy from antagonistic class societies, that security primarily depended on military strength, also shaped the corresponding moral views and modes of conduct by which it has in turn be "sanctified." The realities of the nuclear age, however, categorically demand breaking with this old mode of thought and its moral justification. The imperialist arms buildup increases the danger of sliding into a nuclear inferno, escalates tension and distrust, and destabilizes the military-strategic situation. Expanding it into a new dimension, into space, as desired by most aggressive U.S. circles, would mean undermining the military-strategic equilibrium and making it lose its peace-securing effect. The U.S. and NATO arms buildup course therefore is intolerable to mankind, is amoral.

Socialism--The Strongest Bastion in the Peace Struggle

All that allows none but the conclusion that it is necessary to do everything that must be done "to move from a heavily armed world to a world without arms."¹¹ Socialism is dedicated to it with all its strength. It has proposed a feasible disarmament program for it, while also taking constructively into account, by picking up the constructive ideas of all peace forces, the

doubts and deliberations of the Western side, so as to drastically reduce each type of weapon in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security and eliminate completely the most dangerous type of weapon, the nuclear weapons, by the year 2000.

Through its disarmament program and the most recent proposals from the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states on nuclear and conventional arms reduction, especially on entering disarmament by eliminating the shorter and longer-range intermediate-range missiles in Europe, with its active dialogue policy and, not last, the dynamic development of its potentials and advantages, socialism is exercising increasing influence on the world political situation and the moral climate for safeguarding peace. Socialism is the strongest social force defending our vital peace and propelling the progress from still insecure to unendangered peace. Its peace offensive has increased the possibilities for resolving the key issues of disarmament and security. History has imposed a great responsibility on it to rally its political, economic, and military strength for peace. From this there results the humanistic peace obligation for each citizen in our country to dedicate all his strength and abilities to the growth of the material and intellectual potentials of socialism simply because on it depends to a large extent the securing of a peaceful future on our planet. His own performance on the job is the criterion for how the socialist citizen meets his personal responsibility ordered by the morality of peace.

Socialism's defense capacity also serves the life-preserving mutual security strategy the states of the socialist community are resolutely engaged in. In struggling for a system of comprehensive international security, the preservation of a peace-securing military-strategic equilibrium constitutes that very decisive factor that forces of confrontation and war cannot dodge. That leaves them no chance to defeat and extort socialism by means of force but shows them the only feasible possibility of advancing toward joint security together with socialism. This, in turn, requires getting from the present military equilibrium through real disarmament steps to a military equilibrium at a progressively lower level all the way to general and complete disarmament.

The morality of peace and security in the atomic age therefore also includes the socialist defense morality. The defense capability of the people and their armed forces is an important condition to meet the peace defense need and requirements with all their consequences. The danger that mankind may perish in a nuclear inferno enhances to an unprecedented degree the moral importance and consequence of the military defense of socialism, and hence, of peace. To fulfilling one's military duty in socialism it lends the deep humanistic sense of saving mankind from self-destruction in that it prevents the outbreak of war by a militant resistance against the war policy of most aggressive imperialist forces. "The point of being a soldier in socialism is to preserve peace, to prevent weapons from taking over. The fighting strength and combat readiness of the socialist community's armies is a decisive guaranty for barring a military supremacy of imperialism and for turning their aggression into a deadly risk for its initiators. Military service in socialism is peace service."¹²

The Warsaw Pact military doctrine is exclusively defensive in character. To qualify for armed struggle for the purpose of making such armed struggle, or war, impossible, for that "each of our soldiers, alongside the Soviet comrades and the other comrades-in-arms, bears a very special peace policy responsibility. The awareness of this responsibility must express itself at all times in high vigilance and stable performances in combat and border assignments, in operational and combat training, and in the military combat, operational, and mobilization readiness of each unit, each troop component, and each facility. No allowances can be made for the unconditional reliability of all our protective and security arrangements."¹³ That decisively determines that the socialist defense force fully meets its peace mission.

It is crucial for morally evaluating the socialist defense force that it is an instrument not only for averting war but, at the same time, also for enforcing a turn from a principally military to a political securing of peace. In foiling any military-political concept of the confrontation strategy at forcing socialism to its knees through military violence, it also promotes the rethinking process and the needed transition to a new security policy in the imperialist system. Only when the aggressive forces can accomplish nothing by force against socialism, can the realistic and peace forces all over the world that are ready to base peace on joint security through disarmament gain the upper hand. In the nuclear age, the defense force of socialism thus fulfills its peace mission in a twofold sense. It offers a possible security in times of nuclear war danger and helps as a pioneer of disarmament eliminate the war danger. Accordingly the Warsaw Pact military doctrine is "subordinated to the task to admit no war—either one with nuclear or with conventional weapons."¹⁴

With its bold initiatives for creating trust and for disarmament and its exemplary moves forward, socialism shows who is to be blamed for the arms race and the war danger, who truly wants to disarm in atomic and conventional weapons and who wants to keep on arming—on the earth and in space. The GDR, with its active policy of dialogue and cooperation, with its initiatives toward creating a coalition of reason and realism for peace, fulfills the highest moral imperative of our time. In conformity with that imperative, its policy is aimed at making the best possible contribution to strengthening the community of socialist states and its defense alliance, to implement the fraternal countries' joint peace program, and ever more extensively unfolding all material, political, and intellectual-cultural potentials of our socialist society for the good of the people, a greater strength of radiation by socialism, and the safeguarding of peace. As our country's citizens find their highest interest promoted by our state's peace policy, their moral ties to their socialist German state is strengthened, as they are sure that only peace will always emanate from it. This conformity of all classes and strata, all occupations and the citizens of diverse world-outlook and religion with their state's peace policy produces the political-moral cohesiveness and performance motivation required by the peace struggle particularly along the sensitive dividing line between the two worlds and military blocs in the heart of Europe.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Reinhold Miller, "A Challenge to Morality and Ethics," in the present issue.
2. Kurt Hager, "Marxismus-Leninismus und Gegenwart," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, pp 14-15.
3. Erich Honecker, "With Deep Humanistic Responsibility Stopping the Dealers of Death," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 March 1987, p 3.
4. "Friedrich Engels' Preface to the First German Edition of Karl Marx' 'The Misery of Philosophy,'" "Werke" [Works]. Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 561.
5. Kurt Hager, op. cit., pp 13-14.
6. Erich Honecker, "The GDR Embodies the Ideals of the Antifascist Struggle," "Reden und Aufsätze" [Speeches and Essays], Vol. 10, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, pp 595-596.
7. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 8.
8. Mikhail Gorbachev, "For a World without Nuclear Arms, for the Survival of Men," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 11.
9. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address for the International Workers Association," "Werke," Vol 16, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 13.
10. "Communique of the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact States," EINHEIT, No 7, 1987 p 584.
11. Mikhail Gorbachev, "USSR Extends Moratorium on Nuclear Tests till 1 January 1987," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 August 1986, p 2.
12. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 80.
13. Heinz Kessler, "The Statement on the Military Doctrine Confirms the Humanistic Credo of Our Coalition," (4th SED Central Committee session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 48.
14. "On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact States," EINHEIT, No 7, 1987, p 586.

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PEACE MOVEMENT STATUS QUO SURVEYED

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[Article by Manfred Feist, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's Foreign Information Department: "Fresh Momentum in the Worldwide Movement for Peace and Disarmament"]

[Text] Much has started moving in recent months and weeks through the aggressive approach to the questions of securing peace, especially to disarmament, by the USSR and the socialist community. A clear sign of the current development lies in that the forces of peace and socialism can conduct their struggle from vastly improved positions today. Socialism has considerably expanded its political initiative. Its peace policy affects the world political situation more and more. The direct consequence of the initiative-rich and flexible approach by the USSR, which leaves no loophole to the proponents of the arms buildup, are clear changes in world public opinion and a tremendous surge in the worldwide peace struggle. More and more emphatically stands revealed the connection inherent in our social order between socialism and peace.

The complex peace program of socialism makes no detour around any type of weapons. It contains short-range proposals to be implemented at once or soon as well as long-range strategic tasks. The enemies of disarmament and of a turn to improvements in international relations are getting an immediate response to any demagogic attempt at evasion and are getting themselves more frequently in the situation where they assume unpopular positions as they are aimed against the peoples' desire for peace. The correct and conciliatory approach by the socialist states to the question of asymmetries for certain conventional weapons, their readiness to pick up any constructive suggestions from the other side—all that makes the world take note. We oppose the concept of nuclear deterrence by our humanistic policy of a nuclear weapons-free world. Our ideal remains at long last a world without arms and violence.

Their resolve to carry on their global and regional initiatives for reducing military and political confrontation, as expressed on the Berlin conference of the Warsaw Pact states, encourages millions of peace fighters. Especially after the positive worldwide reaction to the proposal of agreeing on a zero solution for USSR and U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe strengthened a world public in the conviction that concrete disarmament agreements are

today possible. All told, the peace program of socialism shows to humanity how it can get out of the situation it has been manipulated into by the course of the most aggressive forces of, particularly, U.S., imperialism and through the profit drive of the imperialist armaments lobby. There is every good reason to speak of a new stage in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

More and more impressively the international public is being made aware of which side it is that submits concrete steps and proposals acceptable to all on arms limitation and disarmament and which is the one to torpedo negotiation and disarmament advances. The peoples are reinforcing their intent and activities for peace. Despite this in many respects new and favorable initial position, the struggle for preserving peace will still take great strength and will have to be conducted tenaciously and rigorously. In implementing the peace program of socialism we are still only at the beginning. What the 11th party congress resolved remains in effect: Securing peace is the priority task of our policy. It remains a fact that our party regards as the decisive task to make through its acts and conduct its contribution to diminishing the war danger. That fully conforms to the objective set down in our party program "to spare mankind another world war and secure peace permanently, for world peace is a basic condition for the successful construction of socialist and communist society; its preservation is a vital problem for all mankind." (Footnote 1) ("Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin 1976, pp 59 and 61). We are letting ourselves be guided consistently by the two main strategic tasks: the further shaping of the developed socialist society for the good of man and creating the external conditions needed for it, i.e. averting the nuclear war danger, surmounting confrontation through promoting cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence. This connection between the all-round strengthening of socialism and the securing of peace has become the leitmotif of action for millions and millions of citizens in our country.

The slogan "My job--my battle station for peace" has become an important impulse for our dynamic and stable development. The link of the tasks set down by the 11th SED Congress for the further shaping of the developed socialist society with the peace issue runs like a red thread through all competition and mass initiatives. The realization that secure peace calls for a strong socialism has given rise to an extensive popular movement in the GDR.

For a Worldwide Coalition of Reason and Realism

Any attempt at applying military means to resolve the basic contradiction inherent in our era would place the survival of mankind in doubt. Only through peaceful contest can and may the struggle between the two systems proceed today. To survive together or perish together--that, in view of the new situation, is the question the world faces. Today one must learn to live with ideological contradictions and opposing social conceptions. The settling of contradictions, necessary as it remains to be, must by no means lead to jeopardizing peace and, hence, the existence of humanity. That calls for regard and respect for bilateral interests, discretion and responsible conduct especially also in conflict situations. Preserving and securing world peace, in view of the threat against the existence of mankind, itself means social progress, having become the fundamental prerequisite for any other social progress.

Securing permanent peace has always been the objective of the communist movement. The revolutionary workers movement has always stood in the front rank of the social forces fighting against imperialist war and for peace, international understanding, and disarmament. What is new is that under prevailing conditions, when it comes down to human society's being or not being, the peace struggle has become the most important issue of the present and, hence, naturally also the most important task of the communist world movement. This new situation and the precedence arising from it of the struggle for maintaining peace do not abolish the objectively existing class antagonisms or the opposition between the systems, but they are raising new requirements. The struggle for averting a nuclear world conflagration as a general human task also has profound social content.

Notably, the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism is in effect in a world today in which a new global contradiction functions on the resolution of which the existence of humanity depends--the opposition between the overwhelming majority of mankind interested in peace and the extremely aggressive imperialist groups, small in numbers yet politically, economically, and militarily powerful, which in their greed for superprofits, world domination, and social revenge deem nuclear war winnable and feasible and are getting ready for it. That results in a new political power constellation in the world. From it arises the objective premise for setting up a worldwide coalition of reason and realism, as defined by Comrade Erich Honecker as early as at the 7th SED Central Committee session in November 1983. This worldwide coalition is consolidating and growing into a movement of peace forces at an unprecedented social and political breadth.

It embraces not only the people's masses, the social forces. What is new is that the tremendous increase of social movements of peace adherents goes hand in hand with the opposition of more and more states and groups of states in the non-socialist world against the nuclear war danger. Let us but mention the movement of the nonaligned countries, as demonstrated by the Harare declaration. The most important and active peace force, as clearly announced by the Mexico declaration, is the group of six states on four continents. One should also mention the group of the Contadora states in Latin America, the new group of capitalist Latin American countries that want to break the chains of the intolerable dollar indebtedness, OAS, fighting against apartheid and for the emancipation of the black continent, as the states of the southern Pacific that have agreed on a treaty establishing a peace zone in that region. Neutral capitalist states and governments of NATO states as well are making a contribution, informed with reason and realism, to preserving peace, arms limitation, and disarmament. So it is practically shown that--with all the differences otherwise--in the problem of peace safeguards also the government representatives of states with differing orders arrive at similar or identical views.

The conscience of the world must increasingly determine world developments. Never yet did the destiny of humanity depend so directly and to such a high extent on the objectives and slogans most people follow. A special role is played by the growth of the mass movement for peace and disarmament the potentials of which are far from exhausted. That movement developed

explosively as the peoples' reaction to the political turn in the late 1970's and especially in the early 1980's by the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles, their dropping detente and going into a policy of confrontation and arms buildup. In conformity with the Marxist-Leninist conception of the role of the people's masses, our party has paid special attention to this movement from the outset, remarking already at an earlier phase of development of this new peace movement at the 4th Central Committee session in June 1982: "A movement of such a range has never yet existed in the history of the peace struggle. Thanks to its enormous political and social scope it has obtained a new, higher quality." (Footnote 2) (Comrade Paul Verner, *Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED*, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 12).

Though this movement naturally picks up traditions of earlier peace movements, it cannot be compared with its historic precursors. Some characteristics and specifics of this movement lie in the following:

1. Today's peace movement mobilizes and captures more people than any of its precursors. The number of people attending mass activities has assumed such a scope that one can properly talk about its having acquired a new quality. In almost all capitalist industrial countries there have developed the most powerful peace operations following World War II since the early 1980's, mostly even in all the history thus far of the countries concerned.
2. The peace movement also was able to expand its activities a great deal territorially. The objective basis for its greater dimension is the global range of the threat. Of the greatest importance is the fact that the new peace movement even in its initial phase, proceeding from the anti-neutron bomb movement in the Netherlands, developed in the West European NATO states--principally in the five countries that had deployed the U.S. European missiles--and in the United States and Japan. Thereby it took on the struggle in the three chief centers of imperialism. Yet even in neutral and non-aligned countries it has meanwhile reached considerable scope and strength.
3. The contemporary peace movement affects far broader social strata than its predecessors and shows a variety of disparate ideological currents. It virtually cuts through the entire structure of bourgeois society. The motives for the commitment by its adherents are highly differentiated. They range from a simple fear of war and spontaneity to deeper class-bound insights. In social respects its spectrum ranges from working class members via the middle-class to circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Politically it transcends far more than in the past the traditional dividing lines between leftist and rightist forces. Today it reaches into the conservative camp. It ties together communists and people under anticommunist influence, atheists as well as the faithful in various creeds, and many groups without any firm political or ideological ties.

The political problems existing in the movement reflect this range and political heterogeneity. Diverse political forces also carry on their antagonisms to a certain extent. Thus one of the strengths of this movement also is a cause of its weaknesses--political discord in certain political situations and organizational fragmentation. Even so, the view is increasingly

penetrating through the peace movement that diverse ideological standpoints and positions in world-outlook must be no obstacle to working together in the crucial question, the preventing of nuclear world war.

4. The large social and political expanse of the movement is the reason why, in contradistinction to the peace movements of past decades, the "new" peace movement far less than in the past groups around and develops as a special social and political force. It is obvious that the breadth and variety of this movement would hardly be compatible with the leadership by one or another political party or force. Any leadership claim--from whichever side--harbors dangers to the cohesiveness of the movement.

5. The communists, who have always included the peace struggle in their fight for fulfilling the historic working class mission, stand with equal rights in the front rank of the peace fighters. Without raising a leadership claim, in some countries they became the political force in this movement from which essential impulses emanate. The communists are performing a specific contribution in the peace movement which no other political force can perform just like it. They are spreading or reinforcing standpoints in it that transcend the level of awareness thus far of the mass of the followers and yet conform with the basic concern of the peace movement.

6. The altered positions of Social Democracy in the matters of security policy are also clearly reflected in its new attitude toward the peace movement. As most social and social democratic parties, especially their leaderships, in the early 1980's still went along with NATO's "rearmament catch-up," they mostly rejected the peace movement or were at least reticent. Today Social Democracy with its indubitable massive influence, reinforces the potential of the peace movement and brings in new forces, such as the closely aligned trade unions.

7. The active role of the communists and the new commitment from social democratic and socialist parties and the trade unions have far-reaching effects on the reciprocal penetration or collaboration between the workers and the peace movement. The ever more active assertiveness of the working class brings it about that more than ever before the struggle against the arms race is combined with social issues, with the struggle for securing jobs and against the rapid social welfare cuts and political disenfranchisement. It cannot be ignored, however, that in some countries there still are considerable obstacles to a more active commitment by the workers class in the peace movement or that a wait-and-see attitude is being promoted. An obstacle of that sort, e.g., is the widespread anxiety about losing one's job.

8. The peace movement is broadening through the mobilization of the intellectuals and the commitment by specific occupational groups (e.g. physicians, artists, natural scientists, jurists, writers, generals for peace). The particular facility in mobilizing, mainly, the scientific intelligentsia is evidently due to that it often has easier and more complete access to the requisite information about the dangers in the application of modern weapons of mass destruction, and that it can faster be rendered sensitive to it, as in the case of the physicians, with respect to the clear contradiction that the mad weaponry poses to their objective, to the ethos of their profession.

That commitment also has been facilitated by that the general human concern of the peace movement does not of necessity demand a decision in favor of one political tendency or another. These peace initiatives specific to such professions by members of those strata also are an important source for the higher efficacy of the peace movement. Through their specialized knowledge, scientists, physicians, military, and members of many other professional groups can explain to the broad masses the dangers inherent in atomic weapons.

9. Not last, the peace movement had such a momentum because millions of believers, laity and dignitaries in the different religious communities and whole churches moved forward into an active peace commitment. In the interpretation of the doctrine of creation and the Sermon on the Mount--the commandment of love and of love for one's enemy, the outlawing of murder, and the idea of atonement--are found the clues for a Christian-motivated pacifism.

10. One of the noteworthy features of the peace movement is the high proportion of youths and women. Large parts of the young generation are coming to see ever more clearly that it all involves their own future. Young people are among the potential that can most rapidly be mobilized in this movement. A facilitating factor also is that young people more easily rise above traditional political divisions and thus have a unifying effect on this broad movement. To an unprecedented degree have since the early 1980's women become active in the peace movement. Their dedication to the lives of children, their emotionality, had considerable impact on some countries.

11. The new quality of today's peace movement can also be found in its creative application of various massively effective methods and forms of action. Proven forms of action are being extended and many new ones are tested--e.g. human chains, peace camps outside military bases, referendums. This variety of forms proves alliance-promoting because they take account of the variety of capacities and allow each access to the type of operations that best suit his lifestyle or conception.

12. The disciplined and successful course of the mass operations attests to the higher degree of organization in this movement. Broad national anti-war coalitions have evolved in almost all capitalist countries of Europe, in the United States and Japan. Under such terms as cooperation association, coordination council, action conference and the like they form a certain organizational framework for working together. There are permanent working bodies in almost all countries. While respecting the equality and independence of the partners, they make possible a certain degree of coordinated action. No standard model has emerged for these coordinating bodies. They function in their own specific way in each country, and there are places where several of them exist side by side. The problems of fragmentation that continue to exist in many countries cannot be resolved by any sort of organizational centralization at the current status of the peace movement, but only through perfecting the coordination on the basis of political consent. More and more and ever more regularly do national peace movements turn to international cooperation.

New positive factors have come to the fore recently in the peace movement in political-ideological respects. The contrast, clearer than ever, between the constructive peace and disarmament policy of the USSR and its allies on the one side and the arms buildup and confrontation policy of the United States and some other NATO states, on the other, induced many forces that previously kept an equal distance from both world powers and alliances to differentiate clearly now. In its whole importance it cannot be overrated that today many coordination committees of the peace movement in European capitalist countries welcome in official announcements the disarmament proposals of the USSR, the GDR, and the other socialist states or have taken resolutions in which they make at least elements of those proposals into programs of their own. Even movements that used to announce one should not be politically "one-eyed" and could therefore not back proposals from socialist countries have abandoned those positions and answered the question of pro or con in a new fashion.

There is new momentum in the mass struggles. Millions of people joined the spring demonstrations this year. The 110,000 in Bonn's Hofgarten on 13 June and the human chains through the boulevards of Paris with half a million taking part show how shaky the ground is for the propaganda statements of the alleged end of the peace movement. Now the enemies of disarmament have launched the argument the peace movement should not interfere with the U.S.-USSR negotiations. Yet the worldwide peace movement, as shown by the preparations for the fall operations, does not let itself be lulled into sleep by such siren lures. "The pressure of the broad people's masses," as was asserted at the 4th Central Committee session, "must not lessen, and not even when things at the negotiation table seem to make headway. Without shaking awake the conscience of the world negotiations will not lead to success." (Footnote 3) (Comrade Horst Dohls, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 12.).

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WARSAW PACT MILITARY DOCTRINE EXPLICATED

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[Article by Maj Gen Werner Huebner, PhD, director of the SED Central Committee's Department for Socialist Military Education: "The Military Doctrine of Peace"]

[Text] At the Berlin conference of their Political Consultative Committee, the Warsaw Pact states have in all frankness presented to the peoples and states of the world the principles of their joint military doctrine. This socialist military doctrine is "subordinated to the task to rule out war--whether nuclear or conventional."¹ The socialist states, which never have linked and never will link their future, the pursuit of their goals, with a military solution for international problems, rigorously advocate settling all controversial issues and conflicts peacefully, exclusively through political means.

It deeply conforms to the nature of socialism that its approach to the issues of international development and the relations among nations and states is aimed consistently at preventing war and maintaining and ensuring peace. For seven decades, since the first workers and farmers state was established in the Red October of 1917, each individual step of socialist foreign, security, and military policy has attested to it--from the Peace Decree down to the comprehensive security concept for all peoples and states which the allied socialist states confirmed in Berlin in May 1987 and extended by means of significant new steps. A society in which all power is in the hands of the working people, where the means of production are public property and their fruits serve the good of the people exclusively, a society which has for its supreme principle creative efforts for an ever better implementation of the material and intellectual interests of men, which characteristically include social security and justice, the free unfolding of personality of each and the solidary fellowship of all--such a society neither wants to nor can live at the expense of other nations nor in enmity against them. Peace thus is the supreme principle of its international actions.

Respecting the Realities of the Nuclear Space Age

The foundations and principles of this policy also fully inform the military doctrine of the allied socialist states announced in Berlin--their position on the question of war and peace binding on the conduct of society as a whole and on their military forces in particular, their conception of the nature of

possible wars, and their overall conception on commanding the arms forces and all other defense sectors, their organizations and tasks. This socialist military doctrine consistently serves the socialist states' joint peace policy, underpins their political peace program through military-political and military stipulations that are adequate to it, and thereby proves the serious nature of their disarmament and peace initiatives and the exclusively defensive character of their armed forces. In it is combined the continuity of consistent socialist peace policy for already seven decades with the new approach to solving international problems that takes account of the realities and requirements of the nuclear space age, especially of the most important issue of our era, preventing the annihilation of mankind in an atomic inferno.

Since the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, socialist military policy and strategy have always obeyed the mission to ensure peaceful conditions for the construction and blossoming of socialism. A few months after establishing the first socialist state in the world Lenin pointed out "that war as such contradicts the aspirations of the communist party."² If nevertheless the peoples of the Soviet Union throughout the last 70 years repeatedly had to interrupt their great work of construction to defend through tough struggles and with immeasurable sacrifices their revolutionary accomplishments and, at the same time, the fundamental interests of all nations, if they--with the other states of the Warsaw Pact on their side--have to put up to this day a vast part of their potentials for military expenditures, for a reliable defense, it ultimately always has had the same cause: the drive by most aggressive and reactionary imperialist forces to make their world domination designs prevail by way of social revenge and anticommunist crusade strategy.

Such plans, expressed in particular by the U.S. and NATO confrontation course and arms buildup policy, in their seeking military superiority, have as little a chance as ever now in view of the strength of the USSR and of world socialism all-around or of the altered international power ratio. The dangers they conjure up for mankind, however, are greater in our time than before. In view of the stockpiling of enormous potentials of weapons of mass annihilation, humanity is placed in a decision-making situation that involves no less a question than that of joint survival or joint annihilation. This biggest and crucial test situation in the history of humanity demands a new quality of thinking by all states and nations, in approaching the shaping of international relations, in living together on our planet. Consequences of principle result also, and especially, for the states' military policy and strategy from the realities of the nuclear age, marked by that in a war with nuclear missiles no one would win, that more weapons and more of a search for military superiority would create, not more security, but additional insecurity, and that security can be based only on reciprocity. The socialist states united in the Warsaw Pact have drawn from it fundamental conclusions for their foreign and security policy at large and, especially, for their military doctrine, and are energetically and purposefully implementing them in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace.

In the strategic thought and political as military actions of the NATO military alliance, especially those of the United States as its major force, the realities of the nuclear age have not yet crystallized in conformity with the

requirements for humanity's survival. Nonetheless one may assume that for the struggle to preserve and secure peace a new situation has arisen today in terms of realistic possibilities: one third of humanity lives in countries where socialism is developing as the social and political order. The USSR-U.S. or the Warsaw Pact-NATO military strategic equilibrium proves an indispensable factor for securing peace which leashes the most aggressive and adventurist imperialist forces. The capitalist exploiter system is marked by crises, unemployment, new poverty and, in many of its major countries, by absurd militarization and armaments; more and more people come to realize there they are threatened, not by communism, but by imperialist armaments and power politics. Imperialism's colonial system has collapsed for good, the resistance is growing from the liberated states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America against the neocolonialism of imperialist monopolies and states, and so is their active dedication to disarmament, detente, and peace. In view of the growing nuclear threat the worldwide coalition of reason and realism has assumed new political and social breadth. "The activities of the social forces in the struggle for preserving peace have increased," the 4th Central Committee session observed. "It became clearer who is for and who is against disarmament. What is new is that the tremendous growth of the social movements of peace adherents goes hand in hand with the advocacy of more and more states and groups of states in the non-socialist world against the nuclear war danger and of socialism's mobilizing disarmament program."³ Socialism's peace policy more than ever influences the world political situation.

Against Military Force in International Relations

The most important task in socialist foreign and security policy, "to prevent war, to banish it permanently from civilization, and to preserve peace on earth,"⁴ is conformed to by the military-political stipulations in the Berlin document. The Warsaw Pact states announce:

- They will never under any circumstances initiate military action against any state or alliance of states unless they are themselves the target of an armed attack.
- They will never be the first to employ nuclear weapons.
- They are making no territorial claims.
- They do not view any state or any people as their enemy.
- They firmly base their international relations on the respect for the principles of the universally recognized norms of international law.
- They advocate the implementation of disarmament measures. However, they are at the same time compelled to maintain their armed forces in such a structure and at such a level that they are able to repel any outside attack on any one of the states participating in the pact and to ensure a combat readiness sufficient to not be caught unawares.
- They will keep their armed forces and armaments strictly to the limits sufficient for defense and for repelling any possible aggression.⁵

At their Berlin summit, the member states of the socialist defense coalition renewed their initiative for creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security that should entail the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian domain. "Such a system of security would lead to the emergence of a world free from nuclear weapons in which the use or

threat of force would be ruled out and relations among nations be shaped in the spirit of mutual respect, friendship, and cooperation."⁶

This responsible approach by socialism, on which its military doctrine is based, to the fundamental problems of our time, conforming completely with the interests and demands of all peoples while also constructively meeting reservations and hesitations on the Western side, is of all the greater importance on account of the diametrically opposed conceptions on the role of military force and its means that are predominating in NATO. The valid U.S. and NATO doctrine continues to be the strategy of "nuclear deterrence," even in its current version of "flexible response." It implies the option of the nuclear first strike and is complemented by the concept of the aggressive "forward defense."

That strategy is explicitly being referred to by those politicians and military in the United States and some other NATO states who in connection with the current discussions and efforts about completely eliminating nuclear weapons, triggered by the comprehensive Soviet initiatives, came up with the contention that nuclear weapons were indispensable, that without them, in fact, the danger of war would increase. That not only is a mockery of the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of the billions of people who want to spare their children a similar fate, it also contradicts the facts and experiences of the last four decades, when the nuclear arms race caused by imperialism reached dimensions that directly place the survival of humanity in doubt. These imperialist circles ignore the all-inclusive proposals, leaving out no types of weapons, from the socialist community on real disarmament measures under the strictest controls, on radically reducing military confrontation. They find themselves in gross contradiction to the results of Reykjavik as to the Geneva joint announcement of the fall of 1985, in which Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan affirmed that nuclear war must not be unleashed, that there can be no victor in such a war, that any war between the USSR and the United States—either nuclear or conventional—must be prevented, and that neither side is seeking military superiority.

Quite evidently, there are at work in NATO, other than the forces that are now ready for disarmament accords and are seeking an agreement on eliminating all U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles of longer and shorter range in Europe, which would pave the way to further arms reduction steps, others as well that wish to curb or subvert a solution. They want other whole weapons systems of their side to be withheld from destruction, like the Pershing II through "conversion" into Pershing Ib or the cruise missiles by shifting their launch sites to ships. Also the 72 Pershing Ia of the FRG army with their nuclear warheads that belong to the United States are to be kept aside. Nor must one ignore the activities of those forces that still have not abandoned the concept of a "winnable" nuclear war and would like to obstruct a Geneva accord completely.

In this situation, in which important decisions are ahead for further developments in Europe and the world, the open presentation of the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, the exact evidence for its exclusively defensive character and its function as a doctrine for war prevention are a challenge to the authoritative NATO circles, as it were, to reveal their true colors: The world

audience is expecting a clear answer as to their intentions with their military doctrine, their doctrine of deterrence, the nuclear first strike, and the "forward defense." Our socialist military doctrine confronts NATO with the decision either finally to draw inferences from the altered international situation, the realities of the nuclear space age, or reveal to the whole world the aggressive nature of their doctrine.

The socialist defense coalition has no interest in "manipulating" the other side, but wants to work out and put into effect together with it, based on the principle of equality and equal security, what the nations need and are demanding: disarmament, mutual trust, detente, and peaceful collaboration. That is why its member states propose to the NATO states "consultations in order to compare the military doctrines of the two alliances, analyze their nature and jointly discuss the patterns of their future development so as to reduce the mutual suspicion and distrust that has accumulated over the years, to ensure a better perception of each other's intentions and to guarantee that the military concepts and doctrines of the two military blocs and their members are based on defensive principles."⁷

In certain political, military, and economic circles of NATO countries more reflection on these matters is indicated and voices are heard advocating a transition from the doctrine of deterrence to that of disarmament and joint security. Still, such rational and realistic positions do not yet govern the official NATO line. In the documents of the Berlin conference, including the pronouncement on the military doctrine, the Warsaw Pact states once again put a clear and comprehensive offer on the table that would, with good will on the other side, pave the way to fashioning international relations that would guarantee the survival of mankind and secure peace in conformity with the requirements of the nuclear space age.

The socialist states and their armies see no foe in any state, any nation. Their class position, at preserving and securing peace under any conditions of the political and military situation, is identical with the fundamental interests of mankind. In the struggle for preventing a nuclear inferno, they regard—irrespective of any social adherence, political standpoint, ideological or religious conviction—anyone as partner and ally who lets himself be guided by reason and good will. "We want ideological differences not to affect interstate relations in a manner that jeopardizes peace," Comrade Erich Honecker announced. "One must learn to live with contradictions and deal with them in such a way that the vital interest of all in peace and collaboration is not violated. In the world in which we live the security of states is feasible only with each other, not against one another. To coexist peacefully in different social orders will always be more rational and beneficial than to allow human civilization to perish in an atomic inferno."⁸

For Real Disarmament Steps

Military means and equipment play a considerable role of course in determining a military doctrine. Typical of the Warsaw Pact states' doctrine is the objective to reduce the military means. The centerpiece of the comprehensive disarmament concept of our alliance, which leaves out no type of weapons, is

the program on freeing mankind from all atomic and other mass annihilation weapons by the year 2000. It embraces above all an atomic test ban, stopping atomic weapons production, diminishing atomic arsenals toward being completely eliminated, barring an arms race in space, and a proscription for chemical and all other kinds of mass destruction weapons. Eliminating the nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe would provide the chance to start the disarmament process for other systems as well. That includes, particularly, the "reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe to a level where neither side, maintaining its defense capacity, would have the means to stage a surprise attack against the other side or offensive operations in general."⁹

A concrete Warsaw Pact offer to NATO about it has already been in existence since the Budapest conference of the Political Consultative Committee in June 1986. The GDR and CSSR proposals for a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe likewise are aimed at curbing the military means for offensive operations. The same idea is aimed at by the Polish plan for a zone of reduced arms concentration and higher confidence in Central Europe. Similar in sentiment, the SPD in the FRG, e.g., has developed for some time ideas and suggestions regarding a mutual "structural non-aggression capability."

The Warsaw Pact states with their military doctrine aim at disarmament and at preventing surprise attack and offensive operations in general. That is all the more compelling in view of the risks for the socialist states from the NATO policy of reinforcing nearly all armaments components—including new ones for developing "Star Wars"—and the holding of provocative large-scale maneuvers for "realistically" testing surprising strikes in the depth of the Warsaw Pact defense line.

The centerpiece of our military doctrine is the principle "to guarantee military strength on a level sufficient exclusively for defense."¹⁰ With this, the existing military-strategic equilibrium remains a decisive factor for preventing war. A constantly rising level of this equilibrium, unavoidable in the outcome of a further arms race, would however not mean more but less security for all sides. Therefore the socialist states are resolutely carrying on their efforts at producing through real disarmament parity on a diminishing level. The Berlin conference commented on that: "The Warsaw Pact states hold the view that the reduction in military confrontation in Europe should be a continuous process with the military balance being secured at the lowest possible level at each stage. Aware of the asymmetric structures of the armed forces maintained by the two sides in Europe, which are rooted in historical, geographical and other factors, they state their preparedness to have the imbalance that has arisen in certain elements redressed in the course of the reductions proposing that the side which has an advantage over the other side make the appropriate cutbacks. The process of cutting back armed forces and armaments should be accompanied by appropriate reductions in the military expenditures of the states concerned."¹¹

The Warsaw Pact states are not ignoring asymmetries, but they are to be done away with, not through more but through less armament, through disarmament.

From the NATO side, however, one gets misleading "information" on it, constant repetitions of the old lie, refuted thousand times—even by many experts of their own side—of the "Soviet superiority," of the "threat from the East." That, unequivocally, is meant to justify the intention to keep nuclear weapons systems within the inventory of the NATO armed forces in Europe and, along with it, push for conventional rearmament in quantity and quality.

As insincere and obviously tendentious NATO data have been and still are today on the military correlation of forces—the states in the socialist defense alliance care little about a pointless quarrel about figures. They care for a true reduction of armaments and of military confrontation. Our proposals are on the table; NATO evidently has not yet finished with the opinion formation process going hand in hand with disputes. Our party's 4th Central Committee session gave a suggestion for thinking about it: "He who protests imbalances also ought to be ready to equal them out through disarmament accords. Recent years have indeed proven that 'catching up in arms' cannot produce more security."¹²

Ready and Able for Defense

The socialist armed forces have to proceed from the realities of the given military situation. The fact is this: While the Warsaw Pact states have a clear and unmistakable joint military doctrine aimed at preventing war and securing peace, the situation in NATO is full of conflict and continues to be marked by extremely dangerous tendencies. Apart from advocates of more realistic and reasonable positions, those influential forces are making themselves heard that are maligning the socialist states, keep chancing the policy of strength against them, refuse to accept their national borders and sovereignty—as the U.S. President recently did behind the Brandenburg Gate—or engaging, as certain FRG circles, in the attempt that is doomed to failure from the start to link disarmament policy steps with revanchist demands and a "reunification" debate.

A fact also is right now NATO's carrying on its arms buildup policy, especially the efforts to militarize space. The NATO doctrine of nuclear deterrence, the nuclear first strike, and the "forward defense" still is in effect. From it results the mission formulated as follows in the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine: "The armed forces of the allied states are kept in a state of operational readiness that is sufficient to ensure that they are not caught unawares. Should they, however, be subjected to attack, they will inflict a crushing blow on the aggressor."¹³ With this common mission the fraternal parties and states assigned to the socialist armies fully agrees the statement of our 11th party congress on the meaning of being a soldier in socialism, which lies in preserving peace and preventing the weapons to take over. It conforms precisely to this meaning of their military service, which is peace service in socialism, that in view of NATO's readiness for aggression and the rapid qualitative changes in military affairs, the members of the NVA and the GDR border troops, alongside the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies, with a high sense of responsibility fulfill the task of perfecting their fighting strength and combat readiness.

The readiness and ability to fulfill the military class mission under any circumstances, to conduct military struggle indeed, is the highest expression of consciously assumed military and civic duty by a soldier in the socialist armed forces. Admitting under no circumstances a military superiority of the NATO armies and reliably precluding the chance of surprise attack demands a lot from armed forces respecting a doctrine aimed exclusively at defense and finding its purpose not in war, but in the preservation of peace. The strength for it comes to the soldiers of socialism and peace from the values, accomplishments, and ideals, from the humanistic character of socialist society. "Our army members' and border soldiers' will to defense is rooted most deeply in their unconditional love for peace, their ties with their socialist homeland, and their friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states, and in the respect for the achievements and the appreciation for the accomplishments by all the peoples on this earth. Those are the strongest motives for their dedication to high fighting strength and combat readiness. We must keep them awake as long as socialism and the peace of the nations are threatened by dangers."¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. "On the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact States," EINHEIT, No 7, 1987, p 586.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Rally," "Werke" [Works], Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 492.
3. Comrade Horst Dohlius, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the 4th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 6.
4. "Communique on the Session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Commission," EINHEIT, No 7, 1987, p 580.
5. Cf. "On the Military Doctrine . . .," op. cit., pp 587-588.
6. "Communique . . .," op. cit., p 584.
7. "On the Military Doctrine . . .," op. cit., p 588.
8. Erich Honecker, "The GDR Is a Reliable Partner of All Forces of Reason and Realism," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 Jun 1987, p 3.
9. "On the Military Doctrine . . .," op. cit., p 588.
10. Heinz Kessler, "The Pronouncement on the Military Doctrine Attests to the Humanistic Credo of Our Coalition," (4. Tagung des ZK der SED), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 45.
11. "Communique . . .," op. cit., p 582.
12. Horst Dohlius, op. cit., p 9.

13. "On the Military Doctrine . . .," op. cit., p 587.
14. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, pp 79-80.
15. Heinz Kessler, op. cit., p 49.

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TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENTS' POLITICAL EFFECT NOTED

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[Article by Dr Hans Modrow, member of the SED Central Committee, first secretary of the SED Dresden bezirk organization: "Key Technologies--Proving Themselves Politically on the Main Battleground"]

[Text] In the effort at implementing the 11th SED Congress resolutions, the high rank of the key technologies is coming to the fore ever more emphatically in theory and practice. Applying them purposefully at a large range and using them effectively is indeed the key to successfully coping with the growing requirements on the main battleground, the united economic and social policies, for the good of the people and further heightening the GDR's strength of radiation in the struggle for peace.

The many questions connected with it occupy a central spot in the party's management activity and all the political-ideological work, as was pointed out by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the first kreis secretaries' conference in February this year. Analyzing its experiences, the Central Committee at its 4th session underscored the need to create among all comrades, all managers, in each work and research collective clear militant positions on the development and application of the key technologies, on the enormous possibilities but also the whole magnitude and significance of the requirements that are connected with it. Dedication and efficiency must be strengthened to win the race against time.

Revolutionary Development of the Productive Forces

Productive forces development is proceeding internationally at an unprecedented rate. The key technologies, affecting all sectors of the economy and public life, make economic performance improvement highly dynamic. Micro-electronics and computer techniques increasingly pervade the production and reproduction process. They make possible new levels of automation, a steep rise in labor productivity, cost reductions, and higher-quality products and do lend ever new powerful impulses to this development. Combined with completely new software, computer techniques are reaching a qualitatively new level of development. There is a transition from data processing to knowledge processing, from which result more extraordinary possibilities for boosting labor productivity and entirely new perspectives for intensifying mental work.

The key technologies, especially microelectronics, thus pave the way to the high rate and level of increased labor productivity that makes possible for the advantages of socialism to be brought to bear all-around and for the fountains of social wealth to flow abundantly, freeing human labor more and more from monotony and dullness, reinforcing its creative character, and promoting the development of socialist personalities more comprehensively.

In socialism, the great accomplishments of science and technology connect with men's vital interests, with humanity and human dignity, with society's social conscience and social responsibility for each individual and those of each individual for society. A rapid production growth is indicated--and not as something remote, for all that--that increasingly depends on science, on mental efforts, and on human work at a higher power, less "normal" labor effort and material and energy being consumed in the production process. This higher quality of growth opens ways for reversing the trend hitherto in the steep rise in the consumption of natural resources to ensure also in this respect the conditions for the existence of future generations. The rank and place of a country in the international arena are determined more and more by the level and use of modern technologies. Our socialist order offers full developmental opportunities to this revolutionary productive forces development. The 11th party congress resolutions demand using these possibilities with all rigor and applying the key technologies at a broad range with and for the working people.

In the imperialist countries, on the other hand, the contradiction between productive forces and production relations is becoming ever more apparent. It is being confirmed at new dimensions what was analyzed already by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, that the "productive forces so much got the better of private property and the bourgeois that they bring about at every instant the most tremendous disturbances in the social order." (Footnote 1) (Friedrich Engels, "Principles of Communism," "Werke" [Works], Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 372). For the working people in capitalism, high-tech connects with more exploitation, welfare cuts and massive unemployment. Dictated by imperialist power and profit greed, the accomplishments of science are misused to produce ever more diabolic weapons of mass destruction. The "Star Wars" projects of the United States attest to that eloquently. That which opens up for mankind the prospects for high productivity and a fine development of living conditions forms an excrescent growth threatening the existence of humanity, under imperialist circumstances. All this documents by patently annihilating arguments the historic obsolescence of that exploiter system. Simultaneously it has turned out that the imperialist conditions--despite showing its social ills more and more--still certainly leave room for a high rate of scientific-technical progress.

Under these conditions, coping with the most modern key technologies in the struggle for safeguarding peace and strengthening socialism gains all the more of a first-rank significance. In view of the objective necessity that war must today be precluded in the conflict between socialism and imperialism, that it may proceed only through peaceful contest, the weight of most up-to-date technology, of combining science with production, increases further. The Marxist-Leninist realization brought down to the point by V. I. Lenin

that labor productivity in the final analysis is the most important and is crucial for the triumph of the new social order categorically demands today resolutely using the great advantages of socialism to cope with the key technologies and push for the top in decisive sectors.

The Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Commission at its Berlin conference stressed the political, economic, and strategic range of the economic intensification process in the socialist countries and of the effort toward scientific and technical top performances. That raises new challenges to an effective organization of cooperation among the fraternal countries. During the friendly meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Berlin, the resolve for developing collaboration all-around was confirmed. Special attention was paid to cooperating in the development of the key technologies and the coping with scientific-technical progress.

In this field also, in getting set for the 70th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the mighty joint strength of socialism will expand still more. That pertains particularly to collaborating with the Soviet Union, which holds the top in important areas and, in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress resolutions, enforces the key technologies more strongly at the total economic range and with greater social effects. Our republic, under SED leadership, has created the prerequisites for using the key technologies through a creatively elaborated and long-term developmental strategy, through its cohesive economic strategy, which is being implemented with purposiveness. What matters now is to accelerate considerably the rate of its application to enhance the economic improvements and our social policy.

High Demands on Party Management Activity

Dresden Bezirk, where circa 16 percent of our republic's research potential, important educational institutions, and a strong industrial potential are concentrated, has to make an especially important contribution to it. For that reason, the bezirk party organization aims its management activity at having the organic connection between science and production proceed in a qualitatively new fashion, successfully fighting at the focal points for breaking through to genuine top performances. Great weight here attaches to initiatives such as developed in an exemplary fashion by the Zeiss workers, creating in the current 5-year plan a lead for producing highly integrated 1 to 4 megabit level circuits. In the VEB Microelectronics Research Center Dresden, in the VEB High Vacuum Dresden, and in VEB Elektromat Dresden--enterprises of the Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena--authoritative decisions are made, in line with practical party demands, on how the GDR can keep in step in the contest against time for dynamic microelectronics developments. For developing the needed special technical equipment, the link-up with the international top level is being prepared at an overall economic range together with the USSR and on the basis of government agreements on microelectronics.

In following up the orientation provided by our party resolutions, the comrades and work collectives at the Robotron Combine in Dresden triggered a significant initiative. This year they intend, through cooperating with 30 enterprises from various economic sectors, to bring out the efficient job computer A 7100 far in excess of the plan, completing 12,500 instead of 2,500 of these 16-bit computers. This ambitious task can be completed only through

complex rationalization at a high speed and closest socialist cooperation with the partners in science, through an assured high level of supply deliveries, and through great efforts by all cooperating partners. A 7100 is much faster and more efficient than 8-bit computers. Its broad application in our economy, complemented by the use of A 7150, significantly controls the implementation of CAD/CAM solutions in many sectors and, hence, the successful implementation of the strategic concept of the 11th party congress in this field. In many sections processes in production preparation and implementation are thereby rationalized and, in part, automated. The work of highly skilled labor can be made much more efficient.

Simultaneously, the collectives in the combine's Dresden parent enterprise are accelerating the efforts to make more 32-bit computers. Through that computer--on the embargo list in imperialist countries--more sources of performance growth were tapped. The design of most highly integrated circuits virtually depends on this technology.

The striking development of microelectronics, computer and robot technology internationally reinforces the trend toward automating complicated and complex production processes. In the basic research of some fields in our republic, especially at the Dresden Technical University, there are some leads and insights of international rank that now will have to be quickly converted, through the higher quality of cooperation with the practical field obtained, into top technologies and top products.

Still this year the Dresden Technical University will set up a CAD/CAM lab for integrated machine, automation, and computer technology. Through close cooperation with other partners from science and the practical field one is purposefully at work to bring out by 1990 important partial steps of a pilot solution for complex flexible automated machine building plants of the future in the VEB Planeta, Radebeul, whereby one will also internationally thrust into virgin territory. Already one can see in this enterprise that in the long run there is no other way to ensure the requisite high rate of product and technology development and maintain international top positions also in competition with the large imperialist concerns.

In a resolution, Dresden Bezirk management, to continue the resolute implementation of the 11th party congress resolutions, worked out the tasks of the bezirk party organization to engage effectively in the struggle for the mentioned and other tasks in applying key technologies. For such decisive tasks as a faster production and further development of the job computers, party activists groups and management teams were formed under the direction of bezirk management secretaries. They regularly confer on results achieved and further requirements and exercise party supervision. They pay special attention to consolidating the fighting strength and effective political work by the party organizations in the combine's parent enterprises. As the backbone of our economy, the combines decide the headway we make in the application of the key technologies. From it the party organizations in the combine's parent enterprises derive the obligation to ensure politically that they fully meet this responsibility in implementation of the 11th party congress resolutions. Through their new initiative, which totally challenges

the combine's capacity, the comrades in the party organization of the Robotron parent enterprise play a model role in facing these requirements. High increase rates for crucial products, installing most up-to-date technologies, helped in particular by the 25-percent increase this year of the in-house means of rationalization production, a greater effort on behalf of quality and reliability, and doubling net production and labor productivity by 1990--those are targets in the race against time to make the intensification process comprehensive and permanent in the combine and far beyond it. Performance comparisons and political-ideological work--in line with Erich Honecker's guideline from the Central Committee secretariat's conference with the first kreis secretaries--aim at generalizing the experiences of Robotron.

What with all the concentration on priority tasks, rationalization must yet be made effective in all enterprises; no backward islands must be left behind. The exemplary cooperation between the bezirk-managed combine Mewa Dresden and the Dresden Technical University, having started and put into operation an efficient technical program, aims precisely at the kind of solutions that lead to higher productivity at a broad range.

It is very important for the party organizations not to tolerate any narrowing to partial issues but aim their aggressive political-ideological work, the core of which are confident everyday talks with the working people, at the connections with the basic issues of the struggles of our time, at the basic values of socialism we are concerned with.

Many work collectives show through their pronouncements on the experience exchange under the motto "Saving time is gaining strength," conducted by the party's bezirk management, how much initiative and strength they are gaining from reflecting on the topical slogan, "My job--my battle station for peace," and with passion are struggling for most up-to-date technologies, for top performance and top rates.

Fully Using All Impulses

Prof Junghans of the microelectronics research center, Prof Schiller of the Manfred von Ardenne Institute, Prof Modler, Prof Zachau of the Dresden Technical University, and many other scientists and researchers struggling with their collectives in socialist cooperation with many partners personally with the highest dedication and creativity for top performances through the economic use of science and technology, emphasize and exemplify themselves how much ardor one must have for innovations, how much one must challenge oneself and others with high objectives and be capable of constructive socialist concerted efforts, to cope with the requirements of our era. They act in the awareness that there is no option about the rate, that we must hasten it to maintain our place among the most progressive countries, further consolidate the peace forces, ensure our social accomplishments, and purposefully carry on our social policy for the well-being of men. The peak has to be worked for, struggled for.

In a targeted manner the party organizations aim their political-ideological efforts at boosting the working people's trust in their own strength, in their own know-how and their own possibilities. That also includes a constructive

confrontation with some who are still viewing in a one-sided manner the capacity and fund concentration of capitalist corporations and thereby lose sight of their own responsibility and capacity.

Modern technology makes great demands of course, demands a strong material base. That has been and is being provided for in our republic through heavy investments, also, not last, in Dresden Bezirk. Important funds are being invested in the GDR during the 5-year period in the key technologies. But at the same time and above all, it is a matter, isn't it, of comprehending and ever more comprehensively using the immense advantages of our socialist order. Our socialist planned economy, the linkage between production and science proceeding at a new quality and unconceivable under capitalism, and the long-range cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries create objective premises for key technologies at high rate.

The high educational lead achieved and, above all, the profound conformity of interests, the realization that among us all steps of the scientific-technical revolution serve the workers class and all the people, the implementation of our social policy and our will to peace—these are strong impulses. Putting them fully into effect in the practice of everyday—that proves the quality and efficacy of political leadership. It does not do it by itself. Take the link between science and production. In the outcome of purposeful and constructive efforts for implementing the 11th party congress resolutions, among Academy institutes, the Technical University, other science institutions and universities and combines or bezirk-managed enterprises thus far more than 80 long-range coordination agreements and circa 600 concrete performance contracts have been concluded. They have to lead to top performances, according to the experiences of the best units, through close socialist cooperative efforts of the partners at full range. For that the party organizations are struggling in various forms. High reciprocal demands, but also respect and recognition for achievement, are conditions for it.

Bezirk scientists found themselves highly stimulated by that during the tour by the party and government leadership through this year's spring fair Comrade Erich Honecker paid prominent tribute to the scientific achievements embodied in the top exhibits. One's own successes, achieved through strenuous labors and while opposing obstacles and difficulties, are convincing arguments that strengthen our self-confidence and trust in our good policy. Key technology application increasingly becomes the business of all the working people. We are fashioning it deliberately as a process of broad democratic participation along the principle of "Share the work, the planning, the governing."

In VEB VEGRO Kirschau, in the Dresden pharmaceutical plant, and in many other enterprises where key technologies are used with success, experiences confirm this: The most important thing is that the working people know what it is all about and that they can fulfill the new tasks. That demands a lot and makes high demands on the political work of the party organizations, the trade union, and the FDJ. Timely information, involving the working people in the projects, training, absolutely ensuring the link between performance increases and the further improvement of working and living conditions—all that must be carefully considered and handled from the outset.

It is clear that the innovators and rationalizers maintain their place, indeed have growing tasks in the broad application of the key technologies. The increasing role and new quality in the in-house means of rationalization construction by the enterprises make new demands on them too. Without discouraging individual creativeness in the least, planned collective innovator activity with its rapidly growing use effect turns out to be the major way.

Drawing as much as possible all young people into the various forms of innovator activity is of special value. Far beyond just economic effects, this involves the shaping of decisive traits of socialist personalities fashioning the future actively and in a revolutionary and deeply democratic manner.

The new technology calls for going into shift work, of course. Only when one thoroughly clarifies in time, together with the working people, the problems that go with it and looks beyond one's own enterprise, can one make headway. The territory, the local council, bears great responsibility for performance improvements and good working and living conditions. But if only one side makes demands it will lead nowhere.

The new quality of performance improvements must now be combined everywhere with a new and higher level of responsible cooperation between enterprise and territory so as to fully exploit, through civic initiative, territorial rationalization, communal contracts and other forms, all the possibilities for housing conditions, supply and health care, transportation, education and culture, sports and recreation for the working people. Rapidly rising and highly efficient socialist production and the socialist way of life are connected with each other through thousand threads which one must carefully observe and reinforce or must even sometimes be retied in accordance with changing conditions. This too again involves the great opportunities socialism has and their full materialization.

All demands for rapid and dynamic performance improvements are, first and foremost, demands for a higher level, for a greater radiation and effectiveness of the party organizations' political-ideological work. In the outcome of the party elections, through analyzing the speech of the general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, before the Kreis first secretaries, and the 4th Central Committee session, the party organizations have developed new initiatives so that all comrades can stand up always as active fighters on the ideological front and as models and pioneers for what is new.

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DECREE ON TRANSFER OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY TO COLLECTIVES

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[Decree No 41, dated 2 July 1987, on Procedure for Transfer of Socialist Property to Labor Collectives for Management and Administration, signed by Chairman of Council of Ministers Georgi Atanasov and General Secretary of Council of Ministers Ivan Shpatov]

[Text] On the basis of the Declaration of the National Assembly, dated 29 April 1987, socialist property shall be granted for management and administration to the labor collectives of self-administered economic organizations, as well as to the labor collectives of health-care, educational, scientific, cultural and other organizations and institutions of the nonproduction sphere. This act of historic significance creates preconditions for expansion of the labor collectives' self-administration and creative opportunities for qualitative new growth in the economy.

To ensure execution of the National Assembly's Declaration on Procedure for the Transfer of Socialist Property to Labor Collectives for Management and Administration, the Council of Ministers decrees the following:

Article 1. Socialist property shall be transferred to the labor collectives for management and administration for an indefinite or for a fixed term. The term shall be determined depending on the character of the production process or the activity.

Article 2. (1) Capital assets, administrative and social and residential buildings and other nonproduction capital assets shall be transferred to the main labor collectives for management and administration at their balance-sheet value at the end of the quarter preceding the transfer.

(2) Tillable land and tracts of forest lands shall be managed within the existing boundaries of the affected agricultural brigades and forestry enterprises.

Article 3. (1) The transfer of items of socialist property for management and administration to the labor collectives of self-administered economic organizations and of institutions and organizations of the nonproduction sphere shall be made by the Council of Ministers in accordance with the list in Appendix No. 1.

(2) The transfer of socialist property for management and administration to the labor collectives of self-administered economic organizations and of institutions and organizations of the nonproduction sphere that are not included in the list under the preceding paragraph shall be made by the respective executive committees of the okrug people's councils.

Article 4. (1) The transfer of socialist property for management and administration by the labor collectives shall be made subject to their readiness to assume in full measure the functions of a fully empowered manager. For this purpose thorough and specific preparation and organization must be made.

(2) In the process of preparation a comprehensive critical analysis must be made of the status and prospects for development of the granted property. Measures shall be projected for its modernization and updating which shall be accomplished on a contractual basis by the grantor-owner or jointly.

Article 5. In keeping with the National Assembly's Declaration:

1. Cooperatives shall transfer cooperative property for management and administration to the primary labor collectives and to the main labor collectives of the cooperative enterprises within their organization;

2. The Central Cooperative Union and the okrug cooperative unions shall transfer cooperative property for management and administration to the main labor collectives in cooperative enterprises which are not within an individual cooperative's organization;

3. The governing boards of social organizations shall transfer items owned by the organizations to labor collectives within their organization for management and administration.

Article 6. (1) The transfer of items of socialist property to the main labor collectives for management and administration shall be accomplished by contract.

(2) The draft contract shall be prepared jointly with representatives of the collective administrative agencies of the organizations and institutions, as follows:

1. for state property:

a) by the agency which is competent to form them or by other agencies appointed by the Council of Ministers;

b) by the executive committee of the okrug people's council or by an executive committee of the obshtina people's council appointed by it;

2. for cooperative property--by the board of managers of the cooperative organization;

3. for the property of social organizations--by the governing board of the organization in question.

(3) It hereby approves a model contract for the transfer of socialist property to a main labor collective in the production sphere in conformity with Appendix No. 2.

(4) The draft contracts shall be discussed in advance with and adopted by the labor collectives.

(5) The contracts for transfer of property for management and administration shall regulate reciprocal rights, duties and responsibilities of both parties. The bilateral duties between owner and manager shall in the course of the production process be settled in conformity with the Regulations on Economic Activity and the other prescriptive enactments on administration of the economy.

Article 7. (1) The transfer and acceptance of items of state property for management and administration shall be effected at a general meeting of the main labor collective (meeting of proxies), at which the contract shall be signed by an authorized agent of the Council of Ministers or of the relevant executive committee of the okrug people's council and by the head of the organization or institution as representative of the labor collective.

(2) The authorized agents of the Council of Ministers shall be empowered by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the authorized agents of the executive committees of the okrug people's councils by their chairmen.

Article 8. (1) The state, as owner, shall through its agencies accomplish the following:

1. bring influence to bear for efficient management of socialist property through economic specifications, standards and controls;
2. assign state orders;
3. redistribute capital assets in case of reorganization or termination of the enterprise when this is necessitated to effect national specialization or concentration of production and when capital assets are not used efficiently, as well as in other cases determined in the prescriptive enactments;
4. render assistance to the labor collectives in modernizing, developing and multiplying the supplies of materials and machinery transferred for management and administration.

(2) The labor collectives that have received the right to manage and administer the socialist property transferred to them may, in accordance with the procedure established by the prescriptive enactments, scrap wornout machinery and equipment and sell or transfer assets that are unneeded, obsolescent or underutilized for production.

Article 9. (1) The transfer and acceptance of items of cooperative property for management and administration shall be effected at a general meeting of the labor collectives, with the contract signed by the chairman of the cooperative, or, as the case may be, by the authorized representative of the

Central Cooperative Union or of the okrug cooperative union and by the chairman of the labor collective.

(2) The transfer and acceptance of items owned by social organizations shall be effected at a general meeting of the labor collectives, with the contract signed by the authorized representative of the central governing board of the social organization and by a representative of the labor collective.

Article 10. (1) The main labor collective shall transfer to the primary labor collectives for direct management and administration the production-capital and the nonproduction-capital assets necessary for the execution of the assignments with which they are charged, at the balance-sheet value as of the date of their transfer.

(2) The transfer of socialist property shall be made by contract between the main and the primary labor collective.

(3) Socialist property shall be transferred to a primary labor collective (brigade, workshop, sector, etc.) that is capable of management and administration and of operating on internal profit-and-loss accounting.

(4) The transfer of production assets and nonproduction fixed capital to the primary labor collectives shall be preceded by an inspection of the enterprise's existing internal structure, with appropriate changes made, where necessary, to create conditions for the adoption of the lump-wage payment system.

(5) Production assets and nonproduction fixed capital may be transferred also for direct management and administration by special-program labor collectives for the duration of their activity.

(6) It hereby approves a model contract for the transfer of socialist property from a main labor collective to a primary or special-program labor collective in the production sphere in accordance with Appendix No. 3.

Article 11. (1) The draft contract for the preceding article shall be prepared by the economic council or, as the case may be, by the board of managers or the head of the organization or institution, jointly with the brigade council or the head of the primary or special-program labor collective.

(2) The contract shall be discussed and adopted by the general meeting of the primary or special-program labor collective. It shall be signed by the heads of both labor collectives as their representatives.

Article 12. The production capital and other nonproduction fixed capital transferred to the labor collectives shall be managed and administered by them in keeping with the Regulations on Economic Activity and other prescriptive enactments.

Article 13. (1) The enterprises which are part of an economic trust or of an economic combine shall, on the basis of equal dialogue and mutual interest, by decision of their collective agencies of administration conclude among themselves a contract which defines the rights, duties and responsibilities of the economic trust or of the economic combine.

(2) The economic trusts and economic combines and the enterprises outside an economic trust and combine which are members of an association shall, on the basis of equal dialogue and mutual interest, by decision of their collective agencies of administration conclude among themselves a contract which shall define the rights, duties and responsibilities of the association.

(3) On the basis of the contracts entered into under the preceding paragraphs, additions and changes shall be made, respectively, in the regulations of economic trusts or combines or in the charters of the associations.

(4) It hereby approves model contracts for the preceding paragraphs in conformity with Appendices Nos. 4 and 5.

Article 14. (1) The main labor collectives shall transfer some of the state socialist property granted them to the labor collectives of the economic amalgamations formed by the self-administered organizations concerned, including amalgamated enterprises, for management and administration in conformity with the purposes, tasks and object of the activity of the amalgamation.

(2) The draft contract shall be prepared by the collective agencies of administration of every member of the amalgamation; it shall be adopted at general meetings of the labor collectives and signed by their proxies.

Article 15. (1) Disputes regarding the procedure for the transfer of items of socialist property to the main labor collectives for management and administration, including disputes regarding their balance-sheet value, shall be decided:

1. by the agency which is competent to create the enterprise or the organization, with the participation of the minister of finance when the transfer is made by the Council of Ministers;

2. by the minister of finance when the transfer is made by the executive committees of okrug people's councils.

(2) Disputes over the conclusion of contracts for the transfer of socialist property from a main to a primary labor collective shall be decided by the economic council of the economic trust or economic combine. When the enterprise is not part of an economic trust or economic combine, the dispute shall be decided by the agency which is competent to create the enterprise or organization.

(3) Disputes over the transfer of cooperative property for management and administration shall be decided, respectively, by the boards of managers of the okrug cooperative unions and the Central Cooperative Union.

(4) Disputes over the transfer of property by social organizations for management and administration shall be decided by the collective managerial body of the social organization.

Article 16. (1) The main or primary labor collective may grant capital assets, raw materials and supplies for direct management to their individual members.

(2) The transfer and acceptance of items for management in accordance with the preceding paragraph shall be regulated by individual labor contract for newly arriving workers and by separate management contract for the other members of the labor collective.

(3) It hereby approves a model contract for the preceding paragraph in conformity with Appendix No. 6.

Article 17. The conclusion of contracts for the transfer of socialist property to the main labor collectives in the sphere of physical production shall be accomplished by 30 September 1987, while those for transfers to the primary collectives shall be accomplished subject to the latter's readiness, but not later than 31 December 1987. For the nonproduction sphere the transfer of socialist property shall take place on the adoption therein of the basic principles for the introduction of the economic approach and the relevant prescriptive enactments.

Article 18. (1) On the formation of new self-administered economic organizations and other organizations and institutions, contracts for the granting of socialist property for management and administration shall be concluded depending on their degree of readiness, but not later than 45 days after their formation.

(2) The transfer of socialist property under the preceding paragraph shall be accomplished by the authorized agent of the body which set up the self-administered economic organization.

Article 19. (1) The requirements of this decree shall apply to the transfer of socialist property to labor collectives of mixed enterprises and companies with foreign participation.

(2) When the character of the mixed enterprise or company and the mutual obligations require a deviation as far as the foreign partner is concerned, this shall be decided by the Council of Ministers.

Article 20. Functional and other agencies in the Council of Ministers and the executive committees of the okrug people's councils shall render direct aid and assistance to the labor collectives in the process of the conclusion of the contracts in accordance with this decree.

Article 21. It hereby suggests that the Bulgarian Trade Unions and other public organizations take an active part in the preparation and conclusion of the contracts for the transfer to the labor collectives of socialist property for management and administration.

Appendix 1 to Article 3, Paragraph 1

List of Items of Socialist Property Which Will Be Transferred to Self-Administered Economic Organizations by the Council of Ministers

1. Metal-Cutting Machinery Technological Combine--Sofia.
2. L. I. Brezhnev Technological Combine--Sofia.
3. Heavy Machine-Building Plant--Ruse.
4. Chavdar Bus Technological Combine--Botevgrad.
5. GORUBSO [Bulgarian-Soviet Ore Mining Company] Ore Concentration Technological Plant--Madan.
6. Pirin Tobacco Combine--Blagoevgrad.
7. Petrochemical Technological Combine--Burgas.
8. Industrial Microbiology Technological Combine--Razgrad.
9. Rekord Engine-Truck Technological Combine--Plovdiv.
10. Atomic Energy Enterprise--Kozloduy.
11. Madara Truck Technological Combine--Shumen.
12. Dobrudzha Cereal Fodder Combine--Tolbukhin.
13. Heavy Machine-Building Plants Enterprise--Radomir.
14. Oil and Gas Enterprise--Plevan.
15. Chemical Technological Combine--Dimitrovgrad.
16. Svilozha Chemical Technological Combine--Svishtov.
17. Lenin Metallurgical Technological Combine--Pernik.
18. Information Carrier Plant--Stara Zagora.
19. Railroad Administration Enterprise--Sofia.
20. D. Dimov Chemical Technological Combine--Yambol.
21. Bobov Dol Thermoelectric Power Plant--village of Golemo Selo (Kyustendil Okrug).
22. Podem Electrotelpher Plant--Gabrovo.
23. Balkan Aviation Company--Sofia.
24. K. Zlatarev Sugar Refinery--village of Dolna Mitropoliya (Pleven Okrug).
25. K. Rusinov Rubber Products Technological Combine--Pazardzhik.
26. Chemical Technological Combine--Vidin.
27. Trakiya Tobacco Combine--Khaskovo.
28. G. Damyanov Copper Production Technological Combine--Srednogorie.
29. G. Kirkov Bulgarplod [Bulgarian Fruit] Enterprise--Pleven.
30. Rodopi Tobacco Combine--Pleven.
31. Iv. Tenev Hydraulic Products Enterprise--Yambol.
32. Maritsa Bulgarplod Enterprise--Pazardzhik.
33. Petrochemical Technological Combine--Plevan.
34. Optikoelektron Combine--Panagyurishte.
35. Balkan Technological Combine--Lovech.
36. St. Stamenov Aluminum Processing Metallurgical Enterprise--Shumen.
37. Maritsa-Iztok 2 Thermoelectric Power Plant--village of Kovachevo (Stara Zagora Okrug).
38. Bulgarian Rose Ethereal Oil Technological Combine and Herbal Technological Combine--Kazanluk.
39. St. Kiradzhiev Pulp and Paper Enterprise--city of Stanboliyski.
40. Bulgarian Maritime Fleet Enterprise--Varna.
41. Chemical Technological Combine--Vratsa.
42. Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant--Devnya.

43. Pig Iron Foundry--Ikhtiman.
44. Tractor Combine--Karlovo.
45. Thermoelectric Power Plant--Varna.
46. Ninth of May Plant--Cherven Bryag.
47. Railroad Administration Enterprise--Plovdiv.
48. Sugar Refineries--Gorna Oryakhovitsa.
49. F. Engels Combine--Kazanluk.
50. G. Genev Technological Combine--Gabrovo.
51. Elprom Electrical Instruments and Electric Motors Plant--Lovech.
52. Troyanovo-Sever Mine--village of Kovachevo (Stara Zagora Okrug).
53. Zlatna Panega Cement Yard--village of Zlatna Panega (Lovech Okrug).
54. Iv. Dimitrov Shipbuilding and Shiprepair Yard--Ruse.
55. Vazov Machine-Building Plants Combine--Sopot.
56. Linear Cable System Enterprise--Sofia.
57. Troyanovo-3 Mine--village of Troyanovo (Stara Zagora Okrug).
58. Harbor Complex--Varna.
59. Asarel Medet Ore Concentration Technological Combine--Panagyurishte.
60. Sofstroy Mechanization and Motor Transportation Enterprise--Sofia.
61. G. Dimitrov Shipyard--Varna.
62. Chemical Technological Combine--Stara Zagora.
63. Sixth of September Battery-Powered Truck and Robot Truck Technological Combine--Sofia.
64. Pulp and Paper Enterprise--Miziya.
65. Tr. Kostov Central Heating Enterprise--Sofia.
66. D. Dichev Thermoelectric Power Plant--village of Mednikarovo (Stara Zagora Okrug).
67. Bobov Dol Coal Mine--Bobov Dol (Kyustendil Okrug).
68. Storage Device Plant--Plovdiv.
69. Steel Wire and Cable Enterprise--Roman (Vratsa Okrug).
70. Harbor Complex--Burgas.
71. Ocean Fishery Enterprise--Burgas.
72. Ruse-Zapad Thermoelectric Power Plant--Ruse.
73. Urban Telephone Communications Enterprise--Sofia.
74. Central Heating Enterprise--Sofia.
75. Elatsite Mining Enterprise--Etropole.
76. Okrug Power Supply, Enterprise for Sofia Okrug--Sofia.
77. Railroad Administration Enterprise--Gorna Oryakhovitsa.
78. D. Ganev Nonferrous Metal Processing Metallurgical Enterprise--Sofia.
79. Troyanovo-1 Mine--village of Troyanovo (Stara Zagora Okrug).
80. High-Tension Electric Substation Enterprise--Sofia.
81. V. Kolarov Cement Yard--village of Temelkovo (Pernik Okrug).
82. Elatsite Concentration Enterprise--village of Mirkovo (Sofia Okrug).
83. Cement Yard--Devnya.
84. Motor Vehicle Combine--Plovdiv.
85. V. Kolarov Cable Plant--Burgas.
86. Il. Boyadzhiev Shipyard--Burgas.
87. Radio Engineering Equipment Plant--Veliko Turnovo.
88. Burgas Copper Mines Ore Concentration Technological Combine--Burgas.
89. Veslets Pig Iron Foundry--Vratsa.
90. W. Pieck Cement Yard--village of Beli Izvor (Vratsa Okrug).
91. Enterprise at Pleven Economic Power Supply Combine for Pleven Okrug--Pleven.

92. V. Kolarov Diesel Engine Plant--Varna.
93. Industrial Construction Enterprise--Pernik.
94. Bulgarian River Steamship Company--Ruse.
95. Human and Veterinarian Pharmaceuticals Technological Combine--city of Stanke Dimitrov.
96. Systems and Electronic Engineering Combine--Ruse.
97. Bl. Popov Scientific Production Enterprise--Pernik.
98. Robotic Systems Plant--Stara Zagora.
99. Enterprise for Veliko Turnovo Okrug at Economic Power Supply Combine--Gorna Orukhovitsa.
100. D. Blagoev Metallurgical Enterprise--Plovdiv.
101. Motor Vehicle Combine--Stara Zagora.
102. Multipurpose Brigade at Isperrikh from the "Path to Communism" Agroindustrial Complex--Isperrikh.
103. Mechanical Installation Plant--Ruse.
104. Territorial specialized farm [stopanstvo] at G. Dimitrov NPSK [Scientific Production Economic Combine]--village of Kuklen (Plovdiv Okrug).
105. Khimmash [Chemical Machinery] Technological Combine--Khaskovo.
106. Electric Supply Enterprise--Burgas.
107. Maritsa Technological Combine--Plovdiv.
108. Radio and Television Enterprise--Sofia.
109. Svoboda [Freedom] Sugar Refinery--village of Kameno (Burgas Okrug).
110. Swine-Breeding Enterprise of Swine-Breeding Economic Trust--Ruse.
111. G. Dimitrov Technological Combine--Sliven.
112. Pulp and Paper Enterprise--Razlog.

Appendix 2 to Article 6, Paragraph 3

Contract (Model) for Transfer of Socialist Property to Main Labor Collective for Management and Administration

The Council of Ministers (the Executive Committee of the _____ Okrug People's Council), represented by _____, in execution of the National Assembly's Declaration, dated 29 April 1987, hereby transfers to the main labor collective of _____ (self-administered economic organization), represented by _____, the socialist property indicated in the management and administration contract, in order--on the basis of self-administration--to preserve, develop and augment the socialist property granted to it, to introduce the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and to carry out the strategic policy of qualitative new growth with nationwide, collective and personal interests combined.

Article 1. (1) Hereby is transferred, and the labor collective undertakes to manage and administer, production capital and nonproduction fixed capital with a total value of _____ leva according to the balance sheet as of _____.

(2) The socialist property is transferred in the state in which it was at the time of conclusion of the contract.

Article 2. The labor collective, as manager of the socialist property granted to it, shall, in conformity with the Regulations on Economic Activity and other prescriptive enactments, exercise the following rights:

1. It shall independently decide all questions regarding the management and administration thereof;
2. It shall proceed in directions for promotion of the enterprise's activity;

Article 3. The labor collective, on the basis of national goals and state assignments, shall, in keeping with the Regulations on Economic Activity and other prescriptive enactments, assume the following obligations:

1. to use production capital and nonproduction fixed capital efficiently;
2. to satisfy the needs of the domestic market in respect of the object of the enterprise's activity;
3. to perform the obligations assumed in international contracts;

Article 4. The state-owner shall, through its agencies, do the following:

1. create economic conditions for implementation of the economic activity and exercise control over the carrying out of state policy;
2. assign state tasks and create the necessary conditions and preconditions for their execution;
3. compensate, in accordance with the procedure established by prescriptive enactments, for adverse economic consequences occurring as a result of their actions or failures to act;
4. render assistance to the labor collective in modernizing, developing and augmenting the socialist property granted to it.

Article 5. The labor collective and its members shall bear responsibility, as follows:

1. for the results of their activity;
2. for culpable harm done to the property granted to them, in conformity with the prescriptive enactments;

Article 6. In case of inefficient management and administration of the socialist property or in case of failure to meet other obligations by the labor collective, the state may terminate this contract.

Article 7. The relations between the state as owner and the labor collective as manager shall, in the process of economic activity, be regulated in conformity with the Regulations on Economic Activity and other prescriptive documents regarding administration of the economy.

Article 8. The contract shall be for an indefinite period. (The term during which the contract shall be in effect shall be _____.)

This contract has been drawn up in two identical copies, one for each of the parties.

City (Village) _____ 19____

Authorized representative of
the Council of Ministers (of
the Executive Committee of the
Okrug People's Council):

Authorized representative of the main
labor collective:

Note: In drawing up the contract, concrete rights, duties and responsibilities shall be stipulated in articles 2, 3 and 5 with a view to specific conditions.

Appendix No. 3 to Article 10, Paragraph 6

Contract (Model) for Transfer of Socialist Property from Main to Primary Labor Collective for Management and Administration

Today, _____ 19____, in the city of _____, this contract was concluded between the main labor collective of _____ (enterprise), represented by _____, and the primary labor collective of _____, represented by _____, regarding the transfer of socialist property for management and administration by the primary labor collective for the purpose—on the basis of full application of internal profit-and-loss accounting and self-support—of assuring the preservation, development and augmentation of the socialist property, the increase of labor productivity and the improvement of quality through the combining of collective and individual financial concern, as well as the social development of the primary labor collective in keeping with the results of production activity.

Article 1. The main labor collective shall transfer, and the primary labor collective shall undertake to manage and administer:

1. Production capital and nonproduction fixed capital with a balance-sheet value as of _____ in accordance with the attached inventory.

Article 2. (1) The primary and the main labor collectives shall have rights and duties in accordance with the Labor Code, the Regulations on Economic Activity and the other prescriptive enactments.

(2) The primary labor collective (brigade, workshop, sector, etc.) shall have a right, as follows:

1. to require of the enterprise:

a) the provision of the materials and machinery required for performance of production assignments and a regular supply of raw and other materials and power;

b) conditions for maintenance and improvement of professional qualifications and requalification;

_____.

2. to suggest to the enterprise:

a) the transfer, liquidation and scrapping of excess capital assets, raw materials and supplies;

b) the reconstruction, modernization and repair of the capital assets managed by it;

_____.

(3) The primary labor collective as manager of the property granted to it shall undertake the following:

1. to utilize efficiently the capacity of the machinery and equipment granted to it, working in accordance with the established consumption norms for raw materials and supplies and observing the standards and other product quality requirements;

2. to perform precisely its obligations under the production program in respect of volume, quality and target dates for delivery of product and completion of work;

_____.

(4) The main labor collective shall do the following:

1. require efficient utilization of the entrusted property for the achievement of goals and the performance of the main labor collective's overall tasks;

2. discuss at general meetings and in other collective administrative bodies suggestions of the primary labor collective;

3. in the formulation and approval of programs for social development of the collective, take into consideration the primary labor collective's contribution to the execution of production assignments and to the implementation of social measures;

_____.

Article 3. For nonperformance of duties under this contract the guilty party:

1. shall be liable for damages caused to the other party;

_____.

Article 4. The contract shall have no fixed term. (The term for which the contract shall be in effect shall be _____.)

This contract has been drawn up in two identical copies for each of the parties.

Authorized representative of
the main labor collective:

Authorized representative of the
primary labor collective:

Note: In drawing up the contract, concrete rights, duties and responsibilities shall be stipulated in articles 2 and 3 with a view to specific conditions.

Appendix 4 to Article 13, Paragraph 4

Contract (Model) on the Entrusting by Enterprises of Rights, Duties and Responsibilities to an Economic Trust (Economic Combine)

Today, _____ 19____, in the city of _____

1. _____ (enterprise), represented by _____ (director);
2. _____ (enterprise), represented by _____ (director);
3. _____ (enterprise), represented by _____ (director);

by decision of the general meeting (meeting of proxies) of every enterprise, concluded this contract in their capacity of self-administered organizations with a view to achieving a concentration of resources and the economic potential for conducting a coordinated scientific-and-technical and technological investment and market policy on the basis of a community of interests without limiting the self-administration and freedom of decisionmaking on the part of the individual enterprises.

Article 1. Guided by the purposes set forth above, the parties to this contract have reached agreement regarding the entrusting of the following rights, duties and responsibilities to the economic trust (combine):

1. In respect of market policy:

_____.

2. In respect of scientific-and-technical and technological policy:

_____.

3. In respect of investment activity:

_____.

4. In respect of the planning and coordination of economic production activity:

_____.

5. In respect of training and refresher courses for personnel:

_____.

6. In respect of social development:

_____.

7. In respect of other activities:

_____.

Article 2. For accomplishment of the rights and duties entrusted to the trust (combine), the enterprises shall, in accordance with the Regulations on Economic Activity:

1. provide withholdings for support of the trust in an amount determined by the trust's economic council;

2. provide withholdings to the trust's funds in amounts determined by the trust's economic council.

Article 3. The enterprises shall provide the trust with information about the following:

_____.

Article 4. The trust (combine) shall provide the enterprises with information about the following:

_____.

Article 5. The trust (combine) shall report to its clients the execution of contractual obligations assumed between it and third socialist organizations, obligations entered into in the interest of the clients and in execution of the functions with which it is entrusted in this contract.

Article 6. The trust (combine) shall bear the liability for damages suffered and revenues lost by its members due to nonperformance of its obligations under this contract.

Article 7. (1) In executing the contract the parties shall be obliged to render cooperation by exchanging data and other information, compiling joint documents and employing other forms of mutual assistance and control.

(2) The parties shall exert efforts for the voluntary settlement of disputes that arise, with disputes to be solved by the established procedure in the event of failure to reach agreement.

Article 8. (1) Amendment or termination of the contract shall be effected in accordance with the procedure by which it was concluded.

(2) Each party to the contract may leave the trust (combine) in accordance with the procedure established by the Regulations on Economic Activity.

Article 9. The contract shall enter into effect from the time of its signature.

Contracting parties: 1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Note: In drawing up the contract, concrete rights, duties and responsibilities shall be stipulated in articles 1, 3 and 4 with a view to the specific conditions.

Appendix No. 5 to Article 13, Paragraph 4

Contract (Model) on the Entrusting by Economic Trusts (Economic Combines) of Rights, Duties and Responsibilities to an Association

Today, _____ 19____, in the city of _____,

1. _____ Economic Trust, represented by Chairman _____;
2. _____ Economic Trust, represented by Chairman _____;
3. _____ Economic Combine, represented by General Director _____,

by decision of the economic council of each economic trust (economic combine), entered into this contract in their capacity as self-administered economic organizations for the granting and entrusting of the rights, duties and responsibilities, indicated below, to the association with a view to its performing functions of common interest to them in conjunction with the interests of the state, such as the following:

conducting a unified scientific-and-technical and technological investment and market policy for the entire complex;

coordinating the members' activity;

stimulating competition between the enterprises within the association's organization.

Article 1. The trusts (combines) shall, in keeping with the Regulations on Economic Activity and other prescriptive enactments, entrust the following rights, duties and responsibilities to the association:

1. In respect of scientific-and-technical and technological policy:

_____.

2. In respect of investment policy:

_____.

3. In respect of market policy:

_____.

4. In respect of social development:

_____.

5. In respect of the coordination of economic production activity:

_____.

6. _____.

Article 2. For accomplishment of the rights and duties entrusted to the association, the economic trusts (combines), in accordance with the Regulations on Economic Activity, shall do the following:

1. provide withholdings for the association's support in amounts set by the association's board of managers;

2. provide withholdings from their own funds into the corresponding association funds in amounts set by the association's board of managers.

Article 3. The association shall provide the economic trusts backup, as follows:

_____.

Article 4. The association shall report to its clients the execution of contractual obligations assumed between it and third socialist organizations, obligations entered into in the interest of the client and in performance of the functions with which it is entrusted in this contract.

Article 5. The association shall bear the liability for damages suffered and revenues lost by its members due to nonperformance of its obligations under this contract.

Article 6. (1) In executing the contract, the parties shall be obliged to render cooperation by exchanging initial data and other information, compiling bilateral documents and employing other forms of mutual assistance and control.

(2) The parties shall exert efforts for the voluntary settlement of disputes that arise, with disputes to be solved by the established procedure in the event of failure to reach agreement.

Article 7. (1) Amendment or termination of the contract shall be effected in accordance with the procedure by which it was concluded.

(2) Each party to the contract may leave the association in accordance with the procedure established by the Regulations on Economic Activity.

Article 8. The contract shall enter into effect from the time of its signature.

Contracting parties: 1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Note: In drawing up the contract, concrete rights, duties and responsibilities shall be stipulated in articles 1 and 3 with a view to the specific conditions.

Appendix No. 6 to Article 16, Paragraph 3

Contract (Model) for Transfer by the Primary Labor Collective to a Worker of Items of Socialist Property for Management

The primary labor collective of _____ (brigade), represented by _____, hereby transfers to _____ (name of worker), and he accepts for direct management, capital assets at their balance-sheet value (machinery, tools), etc., needed for performance of his production assignments, in accordance with the attached inventory.

1. The worker binds himself:

- a) to preserve with care and to use the property transferred to him for the performance of the job assigned to him;
 - b) to be economical with the raw materials, supplies, power and other resources granted to him for the performance of his occupational obligations;
 - c) to inform the supervisor of weaknesses and shortcomings in the supply of raw materials and supplies, in the technical condition of the machines, in product quality and in the safeguarding of socialist property and to assist in the elimination of these weaknesses and shortcomings;
- _____.

2. The worker shall have the right:

- a) to be regularly informed of the conditions and results of the production activity of the primary labor collective and the enterprise, as that activity relates to the obligations assumed by him;
 - b) to make suggestions for betterment of the organization of labor, improvement in engineering and technology, and enhancement of product quality;
 - c) to suggest measures relating to the protection, storage and efficient use of machinery, raw materials and supplies;
- _____.

3. The primary labor collective must create:

- a) the materials and machinery conditions required for performance of the worker's assigned job;
 - b) safe and healthful conditions for the worker's life, health and capacity for work.
- _____.

City of _____.

Transferor:

Transferee:

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DATE FILMED

20 Nov. 1987

